

Modern History :

OR, THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

All NATIONS.

DESCRIBING

Their respective Situations, Persons, Habits, Buildings, Manners, Laws and Customs, Religion and Policy, Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures and Husbandry, Plants, Animals and Minerals.

By Mr. *SALMON*.

VOL. XXVIII.

Being the First Volume of *AMERICA*, contains,

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|---|---|
| I. A Dissertation on the first peopling of <i>America</i> . | V. The ancient History of <i>Mexico</i> . |
| II. The Discovery of <i>America</i> by <i>Columbus</i> . | VI. An Account of the late Usurpations and Encroachments of the <i>French</i> in <i>Florida</i> , shewing the Necessity of an Alliance between <i>Great Britain</i> and <i>Spain</i> , to expel the <i>French</i> from <i>Florida</i> . |
| III. The Present State of <i>Mexico</i> , or <i>New Spain</i> . | |
| IV. The History of the Conquest of <i>Mexico</i> by <i>Cortez</i> . | |

The whole illustrated with MAPS.

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MDCCXXXVI.

THE
STATE
AMMUNITION



THE
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THE



THE
INTRODUCTION

TO THE
Modern History

OF
AMERICA.

 THE Continent of *America*,
tis probable, extends as far
as the Pole on the North;
and is bounded by the *Atlantic*
Ocean, which divides it
from *Europe* and *Africa* on the East;
by another anonymous *Ocean* on the
South; and by the vast *Pacific Ocean*,
usually called the *South Sea*, which sepa-
rates it from *Asia*, on the West.

The Length of *America*, if we extend
it but from 80 Degrees North (our fur-
thest Discoveries that Way) to *Cape-Horn*,

B

which

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which lies in $57 \frac{1}{2}$ *South*, takes up $137 \frac{1}{2}$ Degrees of Latitude; which, reckoning 60 Miles to a Degree, as Mariners usually do, makes the the Length of *America* to be 8250 Miles; and, if we allow 70 Miles to a Degree, which comes near the Truth, the Length of *America* is 9625 Miles, but the Breadth is not answerable to the Length; for what is discovered of *North America*, is scarce four thousand Miles broad; and *South America*, which is of a triangular Figure, is not so broad in any Place.

The *North* and *South* Parts are joined by the narrow Isthmus of *Darien*, which divides the *North* from the *South* Sea, and is about 60 Miles over in the narrowest Place (*viz.*) between *Porto Bello* and *Panama*.

But when we thus divide *America* into *North* and *South*, it must not be understood, that the Equator makes this Division; for what is denominated *South America*, extends twelve Degrees odd Minutes to the Northward of the Equator: And indeed we follow the grand Division made by the *Spaniards* of their *American* Dominions, into the Viceroyalties of *Mexico* and *Peru*, which are separated by a Line drawn from *Porto Bello* on the *North* Sea, to *Panama* on the *South* Sea, the Province of *Terra-firma Proper* (more known by the name of *Darien*) in which *Porto Bello* and *Panama* are comprehended,

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hended, being reckoned Part of *Peru* or *South America*, and the Province of *Veragua*, contiguous to *Terra-firma Proper*, the most *Southern* Province of *Mexico*, or *North America*: So that those Maps, which divide *North* from *South America*, by the Gulph or River of *Darien*, and a Line drawn from thence to the *South Sea*, are not to be relied on; for they place the Province of *Terra-firma Proper* in *North America*, whereas, in reality, it belongs to the Viceroyalty of *Peru* in *South America*.

The *Spaniards*, by Virtue of the Bull or Grant the Pope made them, of all Discoveries to the Westward of the *Azores*, looked upon themselves to be intitled to all *America* formerly, insisting that all other Nations were thereby absolutely excluded from any Share in that Part of the World; and, on their Arrival in *America*, finding one great Empire established in *North America*, which went under the Name of *Mexico*, and another in the *South*, stiled the Empire of *Peru*, they gave the Name of *Mexico* to their *Northern* Conquests, and the Name of *Peru* to their *Southern* Conquests.

It may be proper also to take notice here, that the Sea, which separates *North America* from *Europe*, is generally about four or five thousand Miles broad; the Sea, which separates *South America* from *Africa*,

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about two or three thousand Miles over; and the Sea, which separates *America* from *Asia*, generally about eight or nine thousand Miles over. Having thus described the Situation and Extent of *America*, I proceed to enquire into the Notions the Ancients entertained of the Form of the Heavens and the Earth, and of another Continent to the Westward of ours.

The Ancients Opinion of the Form of the Heavens and the Earth.

The Ancients generally imagined, that the Heavens constituted but one Hemisphere, and that the Earth was flat and round as a Table, serving as a Basis or Foundation to support the fine vaulted Roof over their Heads.

Even the Fathers laughed at those few Philosophers who believed the Earth to be globular, and surrounded by the Heavens equally on every side; and nothing was more exploded by them, than the Notion of *Antipodes*. Is it possible, says *Lactantius*, that any can be so credulous to believe there are a People, or Nation, walking with their Feet upwards, and their Heads downwards; that Trees and Corn grow downwards; or that Rain, Snow, and Hail should ascend to the Earth.

And St. *Austin* says, "We are not to believe what some affirm, that there are *Antipodes* which inhabit that Part of the Earth under us; a Region, where the Sun rises when it sets with us, and the Feet

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“ Feet of the People are opposite to ours ;
“ or that the Earth is in the midst of the
“ World, encompassed on all Parts, and
“ covered equally with the Heavens.

And speaking of the Notion some entertained of another Continent, he says,
“ It is not agreeable to Reason or good
“ Sense, to affirm, that Men may pass over
“ so vast an Ocean as the *Atlantic*,
“ from this Continent to a New-found
“ World, or that there are Inhabitants there,
“ all Men being descended from the first
“ Man *Adam*.

And even *Aristotle*, and those of the Ancients, who believed both the Heavens and the Earth to be globular, and that there might be another Continent; yet look'd upon it to be divided from us by such vast Seas, that we could have no Communication with it; and that all about the Equator, whether in this, or any other Continent, was not habitable, on account of the excessive Heats: It seems the Ancients in general, were so far from knowing any thing of *America*, that they knew nothing even of *Africa*, or the *East-Indies*, to the Southward of the Equator, tho' they must be acquainted with some Ports of *Africa* and *Asia*, which lay within the *Torrid Zone*, on this Side of the Equator; for the *Upper Ethiopia* lies within the *Torrid Zone*, as does great part of the *East-Indies*: And *Sumatra*

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matra (which is supposed to be the *Ta-
brobane* or *Tarshish* of the Ancients, and
whither the Fleets of *Solomon* and *Hiram*
sailed for Gold) lies under the Equator;
and yet we find *Pliny* of *Aristotle's* Opin-
ion, and affirming, *That the middle Re-
gion of the World, where the Sun conti-
nually runs his Course, is parch'd and burnt
up with Fire.* It is exceeding strange;
that when Men pass'd to the farthest
Bounds of *Africa*, beyond the Equator,
none ever returned to inform the more
Northern Regions, that those Parts were
habitable; and that the *Greeks* and *Ro-
mans* knew no more of *Africa*, to the
Southward of the Equator, than they did
of the Continent of *America*.

The An-
cients ne-
ver sailed
round
Africa.

The same *Pliny*, indeed, reports, that
Hanno, the *Carthaginian*, sailed round
Africa; but this evidently contradicts
what he said before, that the Countries
under the Equator were not habitable. And
indeed, that Opinion, that *Hanno*, or any
of the Ancients surrounded *Africa*, must
be false, because they would not only then
have known that those Countries were ha-
bitable, but they must have known ano-
ther Hemisphere, have seen a new Set of
Stars, and have seen the Sun to the North-
ward of them at Noon-day, which were
such remarkable Discoveries, that if they
had been once made, could never have been
forgotten; and yet we meet with no Men-
tion

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tion of these Particulars, either in *Greek* or *Roman* Writers, or the least Description of any People or Country in *Africa*, South of the Equator. It seems superfluous therefore to add, that it was scarce possible the Ancients could pass these great Seas to the Southward of the *Cape of Good Hope*, in such Galleys, and low built Vessels, as were then in use; especially since there are not any Harbours, or Places of Security, about the *Cape*, that could preserve them from Shipwreck, in those Seas, which are very seldom free from Storms, such as no Galleys can live in.

But to proceed, *Seneca*, in his *Medea*, Or knew seems to prophesy, that another World any thing should be discovered beyond the *Atlantic* Ocean, to the South-west; and this of *America*. also was the Opinion of other great Men among the Ancients, founded upon that Disproportion there appeared to be, between the Land and Water then discovered. But this shews, there was no such Continent discovered at that Time.

Plato indeed speaks of a vast Island beyond the *Atlantic* Ocean, equal in Dimensions to *Asia* and *Africa*, and of several intermediate Islands, which render'd the Passage short and easy thither; but then he tells us, those Islands were long since sunk, and covered with the Ocean. If we take his Testimony therefore entire, there was no such Land as *America* known

known in his Days; And indeed his whole Relation appears to be no more than poetical Fiction, and *Plato's Atlantic Islands*, to have no other Existence than *More's Utopia*.

An En-
quiry how
America
was first
peopled.

I proceed, in the next place, to examine the several Conjectures concerning the Time and Manner of peopling *America*; for all that we know certainly, is, that it has been planted many hundred, or rather thousands of Years from the numbers of People found there in the Beginning of the fifteenth Century.

I make no doubt, but that all Men, according to the Scriptures, descended from *Adam*; and had we not the Authority of sacred Writ for this Opinion, yet the Resemblance there is between the People of that Continent and this, and the Religion and Customs of the one and the other, demonstrate that we proceeded from one common Stock.

The Stature, Form, and Features of the *Americans*, do not differ from ours; the Frame and Turn of their Minds are the same; they adored the same Almighty Being, built Temples, and sacrificed to him, as the Ancients did; and they retained a Tradition, that their Continent was gradually peopled from a small Number. They used Arms of the same Form also as the Men of our Continent did (*viz.*) Swords, Spears, Lances, Bows, Arrows, Slings, and

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and Darts : All the Difference was, that as they had lost the Use of Iron, their wooden Swords were edg'd with sharp Flints, and their Spears, Arrows, and Darts, pointed with the Bones of Fish, or other Animals. However, it is highly probable, those Countries were peopled very early, because they seem'd Strangers to almost every Art and Science, when the *Spaniards* came amongst them ; and for the same reason, we may be assured no Adventurers arrived there in these latter Ages, before *Columbus*.

We know certainly, that Part of the Western Coasts of *Africa*, and the *Canary* Islands, over-against, and not far from *America*, were planted by the *Carthaginians*, four or five hundred Years before the Incarnation of our Saviour ; that some of their Ships carried a thousand Souls ; and, 'tis probable, when they sent Ships to the *Canary* or *Cape Verde* Islands, to plant Colonies, they were crouded with Men, Women, and Children, as ours are, that we send to the Plantations at this Day. Is it strange then, that some of these Ships should be driven to *America*, by the Winds which constantly blow from the Eastward, when it is not more than three Weeks Sail from *Africa*, or the *Canaries*, to that Continent ? If such Planters were once driven from their intended Port, far to the Westward, and they

Probably
Men first
arrived
there in
*Carthagi-
nian* Ships.

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found

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found it impossible for them to return, the Wind sitting always directly against them; what could be more rational, than to run before the Wind, in hopes of making some other Land; and, as we suppose them victualled, in order to plant and recruit some Colony, such Adventurers could not have less than three Weeks, or a Month's Provision on Board, which was sufficient to support them in such a Voyage, where they could suffer no Hardships from the Climate, which was suitable to *African* Constitutions.

If it be demanded how it happened, that no Shipping was ever driven thither since the *Carthaginian* State flourished, it may very truly be answered, that no People have ever navigated those Seas, since the *Carthaginians*, till very lately; all the Discoveries and Plantations of the *Carthaginians* upon the West Coast of *Africa*, and in the *Canaries*, were lost and ruin'd upon the Conquest the *Romans* made of *Carthage*; neither did the *Romans* ever revive that Branch of their Navigation.

Even the *Canaries*, that were certainly planted by the *Carthaginians*, remained unknown for many Ages after that State became subject to the *Romans*; nor did the Natives know from whence to derive their Original, when the *Spaniards* made a new Discovery of those Islands in the 15th Century.

Another

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Another Circumstance to induce us to believe they are descended from the *Phœnicians* or *Carthaginians*, is their imitating them in such of their religious Rites, as Nature or Reason could never have taught them. As to their worshipping the Sun and Moon, this was common indeed to almost all other Nations; but their offering human Sacrifices seems to have been almost peculiar to those Nations. It is observable also, that the *Americans* adored Mountains, Woods, Seas and Rivers, and almost every Animal, as the *Africans* once did, and some of them actually do at this Day. But further, if we suppose that *America* was first peopled by Sea, it could be by no other Nation but the *Phœnicians* or *Carthaginians*, no other People having Fleets and Colonies on the Western Coasts of *Europe* and *Africa* in those early Ages.

For as to the peopling *America* by Fleets or Colonies from *China*, or any other Part of *Asia*; in the first place, the Breadth of the *Pacific Ocean*, or *South Sea*, which separates *China* from *America*, is not less than eight or nine thousand Miles, twice the Breadth of the *Atlantic Ocean*, which lies between us and *America*. 2^{dly}, The Winds are always contrary within the Latitude of 30 North and South, where the Winds constantly blow from East to West, and in higher Latitudes are variable. 3^{dly}, It is well known,

It could
not be
peopled
from *Asia*.

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that the *Chinese*, the only People furnish-
ed with Shipping in the *Eastern* Parts of
the World, never affected to make long
Voyages, or visit remote Regions; their
Navigation was always confin'd to their
own Seas, and they either knew nothing
of distant Countries, or despised them too
much to take any Pains to come at them;
and it is very unlikely, that any of their
Ships should be driven by Accident to *Ame-
rica*, because the Sea, that separates *Asia*
from *America*, is so very wide, and the Winds
always against those that would sail from
thence to *America*, within the Latitude
of 30 North and South; and both *Japan*
and *California*, which lie the nearest each
other, of any Lands we know in *Asia*
and *America*, lie in and about the Lati-
tude of 30 North.

It could
not be
peopled
by Land
from the
North or
South.

As for that Notion, That the People
of the Continent went North about to
America by Land, it scarce deserves men-
tioning; for we know from our late Voy-
ages to the North-east, and to the North-
west, that the Sea extends more than 80 De-
grees to the Northward; and consequently,
if *America* was peopled either of those
Ways, those who went thither must tra-
vel within 10 Degrees of the Pole, which
Parts are neither passable nor habitable;
and if there be any other Land which
unites their Continent to ours, in a less
rigorous Climate, it must be between the
Land

Land of *Jesso*, or *Yedso*, to the Northward of *Japan* and *California*, but these are about 80 Degrees asunder, and no one has pretended to have discovered any Land between them, unless some merry Map-makers, who separate them only by the imaginary Strait of *Anian*, which they make to be little broader than the Strait between *Dover* and *Calais*, tho' we know certainly, that the Land of *Jesso* and *California* are several thousand Miles asunder, and no Man pretends to have discovered any Country between the one and the other.

To the Southward also, our Mariners have sailed to near seventy Degrees; and consequently, if the two Continents are united in that Part of the Globe, it must be in too rigorous a Latitude for Men to travel that Way by Land.

But should it be admitted, that there was a Passage by Land, either near the North or South Pole, from the Old to the New World, it is strange, that no Man ever returned again that Way from *America* to us. The Passage is probably as easy from thence by Land, as it is to it; and if it be objected, that the same Argument held good against those who suppose *America* was peopled from hence by Sea, this is evidently a Mistake, because the Wind always sits fair for sailing from *Africa* to *America*, and contrary to those that

that would return from thence. Besides, as it appears the *Americans* had lost the Art of Ship-building and Navigation, when the *Spaniards* came amongst them, and never knew the Use of the Loadstone, there was no Possibility they should ever return, or that we should have any Knowledge of them. Had they been furnished with Shipping, as they were not, it would not have been possible for them to have found the Way back to *Africa*; for, till the Use of the Loadstone, the *North* or *South* Seas were very little navigated, if at all: And, as well as we understand Navigation at this Day, we find it very difficult to come back from *America* without sailing pretty far North or South, where we meet with variable Winds, and for the most part Westerly; if we were obliged to sail within the Tropics, or indeed within the Latitude of 30, our Voyages from *America* would be very long, and very difficult, even to us.

Objections
against the
peopling
of *America*
by the
*Carthagi-
nians* an-
swered.

But there remains still a very formidable Objection against the peopling of *America* by the *Phœnicians* or *Carthaginians*; and that is, that they were destitute of almost all Arts and Sciences; nay, that they knew nothing of Ship-building, or the use of Iron, which they must have been acquainted with, if they had derived their Original from the *Carthaginians*. To this it may be answered, that those

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those who were first driven to the Coasts of *America*, might be acquainted with most of the Arts the *Carthaginians* were Masters of; but as the first Generation was probably worn out, before any Iron Mines were discovered, and it is possible, that none of those that arrived there might understand the digging, melting, or separating of Metals, if such Mines had been discovered; it is no wonder, that in an Age or two, the use of Iron was forgot, and consequently Ship-building, and all other Manufactures that depended on the use of Iron, tho' the Arts of Spinning and Weaving, for which the *Tyrians* and *Phœnicians* were famous, were retained.

Another Circumstance which inclines us to think, that *America* was peopled by the *Africans* by Sea, and not by Land, is, that we found it better peopled in the middle between the Tropics, than it was towards the North or South; whereas, in our Continent, the most populous Places are, and the most considerable Empires have been, within the *Temperate Zone*, to the North-ward of the Tropic of *Cancer*.

Farther Arguments, that the *Americans* derive their Original from the *Africans*.

Had the *Europeans* or *Asiatics* gone North about to *America*, they would probably have first planted those Countries that lay nearest the North, or at least those within the *Temperate Zone*, as most agreeable to them, and suitable to their Consti-

Constitutions; and not have chosen to fix the two great Empires of *Mexico* and *Peru* within the *Torrid Zone*, and in a manner desert the rest of the Country. It is much more likely therefore, that the Inhabitants of *Peru* and *Mexico* should derive themselves from the *Africans*, than from any Northern People whatever; because the Climate of *Peru* and *Mexico*, as has been observed, resembles that of *Africa*, and is much more agreeable to an *African* Constitution, than to those of more Northern Latitudes.

As neither the *Romans*, or any other *Europeans*, made any Attempts to settle Colonies in *Africa*, much less beyond the Equator; it is not to be supposed, that the *Americans* would have fixed themselves altogether within the *Torrid Zone*, if they had come from some cold Northern Clime, like that of *Sweden* or *Muscovy*. This therefore is a very strong Argument with me, that the first Men, that pass'd into *America*, went from scorch'd *Africa* by Sea, and not from the frozen Countries about either Pole by Land.

The Objection
that Animals could
not pass by
Sea considered.

Still I apprehend it may be objected, that tho' Men might pass first to *America* in Ships, it can never be supposed, that every Species of Beasts, Birds, and Insects, passed thither the same Way. To which I answer, it is equally improbable they should travel thither by the Extremities

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mities of the North or South Pole; for it cannot be supposed, that such Animals as were bred in hot Climates, would ever wander into frozen Regions; nay, 'tis a Question, whether many of them would live in a cold Climate, if they were carried thither, and consequently their Passage that Way must be miraculous, if ever they effected it: Besides, it appears, that many of the hardiest Animals, and the fittest for such Journeys, such as Oxen, Mules, and Horses, were none of them to be found there, when the Spaniards discovered *America*; and if other Animals went that Way, it is strange that Horses and Mules, the best made for such Expeditions of any Creatures we know, should none of them have attempted this Passage as well as the rest.

On the other hand, if there was such a Passage by the Extremities of the North and South, how comes it to pass, that several Species of Animals we find in *America*, never appeared in our Continent: If these at first passed from us to them, how comes it that none of the same Species are left here. If any one will be so good to inform me how these Animals came into *America*, I will inform him how the rest came thither. Since the Difficulty therefore remains equal, whether we suppose Animals passed from the one Continent to the other, by Sea or Land,

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our being ignorant how the *Americans* came to have some of the same Animals we have, can be no Objection to the Notion that *America* was peopled by Sea ; nay, it seems to strengthen this Opinion, that Men never passed from this Continent to that by the Extremities of North and South, inasmuch as neither Horses or Mules, and some of the rest of the hardiest Animals we have, and the best made for travelling, were not found there ; for if Men could pass that Way, is it to be supposed, that those Beasts would not have passed that Way too ; or rather, that Men would not have made use of them to ride on, or to carry their Baggage, and their Wives and Children with them.

If it be said, that it was by Divine Impulse, that the Animals of this Continent wandered to the other ; I answer, If we must resort to a Miracle, or supernatural Means, to solve the Difficulty, we may as well suppose a new Creation ; for that would be but a Miracle. That Men might and did pass to *America* in Shipping, has been in a manner demonstrated ; How Beasts and other Animals came thither, I must confess remains a Difficulty ; for tho' some might pass in Ships, we cannot suppose all of them did. But still this does not weaken the Opinion, that *America* was peopled by Fleets or single Ships of the *Carthaginians* from the Western Coasts of *Africa*,

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Africa; because there are equal, or greater Difficulties to encounter, if we suppose Men and Animals went thither, either by or near the North or South Poles; and there are no other possible Ways of their passing to *America* by Land, unless we suppose with *Plato*, that some great Islands are sunk, that lay between us and *America*, of which we should certainly have had some other Evidence to corroborate his Testimony, if there were any such: And indeed from the whole Tenor of that Essay, it appears, that *Plato* was speaking of some imaginary Country that never had a real Existence. I proceed, in the next place, to give an Account of our modern Discoveries to the West-ward.

Christopher Columbus, or *Colon*, was a Native of some obscure Village in the State of *Genoa*, his Father, and several of his Ancestors, seafaring People; not in such mean Circumstances however, but *Columbus* was put to School at *Pavia*, where he was taught Arithmetick, Navigation, Astronomy, Drawing and Painting, at least sufficient to draw a Landskip, or describe the Situation of a Place: From School, he went to Sea, and was in several Engagements with the *Turks*, the *Venetians*, and other Nations; in one of which, the Ship he was in being burnt near the Coast of *Portugal*, he had the good Fortune to escape to Shore upon a Plank, and

Of the Discovery of *America* by *Columbus*.

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coming to *Lisbon*, found several of his Countrymen and Acquaintance settled in that City, with whom he resided some time, and afterwards made several Voyages with the *Portuguese* to the *North* and *South*, and particularly to *Guinea* on the Coast of *Africa*. While he was in the Service of the *Portuguese*, he married a Wife of some Quality and Fortune, whose Father had been concerned in several naval Enterprises, and was Governor of *Porto Sancto*, one of the *Madera* Islands, by which means *Columbus* came into the Possession of all his Father-in-law's Charts, Maps, and Journals, which gave him the first hint, 'tis said, of making Discoveries to the Westward : And here it may be proper to describe the Person of this great Discoverer.

His Son relates, that he was moderately tall and long-visag'd ; his Complexion a good red and white ; that he had light Eyes ; his Cheeks were somewhat full, but neither too fat nor too lean ; that in his Youth, he had fair Hair, which turned grey before he was thirty Years of Age ; that he was moderate in eating and drinking, affected a plain modest Garb or Dress ; that he was naturally grave, but affable to Strangers, and pleasant frequently among his Domesticks ; strict and devout in religious Matters ; and, tho' a Seaman, was never heard to swear or curse ; that he applied himself chiefly to the Study
of

of Cosmography, Astronomy and Geometry; and from his Youth, appeared to have a more than ordinary Passion to understand the State of all Countries on the Face of the Globe, and to make new Discoveries; which probably was his Reason for settling at *Lisbon*, no Nation having push'd their Discoveries further than the *Portuguese* at that time. And here he was perpetually drawing Maps and Charts, in which he received great Encouragement from that enterprizing People.

Columbus, 'tis said, had three Inducements to believe, that there lay a Continent in the *Atlantic Ocean*, not far to the West-ward, and that this Continent was contiguous to, or rather part of the *East-Indies* (under which Name was then comprehended even *China*, and all the Countries to the East-ward of the *Ganges*.)

1. He observed, that *Marinus* had placed the *East-Indies* 15 Hours to the East-ward of the West Coast of *Africa* and *Europe* (which was however a very gross Mistake;) and that as there could remain but nine Hours more between this Continent and that, in sailing West-ward, supposing that Space to be all Sea, which he hoped was a great Part of it Land, he concluded it would be no very long Voyage to the *East-Indies* by the West: And this, by the Way, is the Reason why
America

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America was called the *Indies*, because the first Discoverer proposed to sail to the *East-Indies*, through the *Atlantic* or *Western* Ocean; and when the Continent of *America* was first found out, they looked upon it to be part of the Continent of *India*, till they discovered that the *South* Sea, or *Pacific* Ocean, lay between *America* and *India*.

2. A second Inducement for his attempting these Discoveries Westward, was the Opinions of several learned Men, both Ancients and Moderns, that there was another Continent beyond the Western Ocean, either very near or contiguous to the *East-Indies*, and that it was not very far distant from ours: But no Man confirmed *Columbus* more in the Opinion of a Continent that lay to the Westward, than Signior *Paul*, a Physician of *Florence*, with whom he held a constant Correspondence while he resided at *Lisbon*. This Physician, in one of his Letters, relates how rich and populous a Country *China* or *Cathay* was, as they had learnt by some Ambassadors who came from thence to the Pope, and from Merchants that had traded thither by Land; that it was full of great Towns, yielded Gold, precious Stones, and Merchandize of incredible Value; and assures him, that the Voyage thither, through the *Atlantic* Ocean, by the West, could not be farther than the Voyage from
from

from *Portugal* to *Guinea*, which (tho' it was a very gross Error) gave *Columbus* great Encouragement to attempt that Voyage. In short, he computes the Distance between *Lisbon* and *China*, sailing Westward, to be about five thousand Miles, in which he was out two-thirds: However, so far he was accidentally in the right, that the Space between ours and the next Continent to the Westward, was much thereabouts, and gave *Columbus* a Notion that he should meet with Land five or six thousand Miles to the Westward.

3. A third Inducement to this great Man's Undertaking this Discovery, was the Reports of some sea-faring Men, who had used those Western Seas. A *Portuguese* Pilot, named *Martin Vicente*, informed *Columbus*, that being 450 Leagues to the Westward of *Cape St. Vincent*, he took up a Piece of carv'd Wood, which he guess'd came from some Island to the Westward, the Wind having long sat that Way: And *Peter Corea*, who married his Wife's Sister, assured him, that he saw a Piece of carv'd Wood, drove by the Westerly Winds on *Porto Sancto*, one of the *Madera* Islands; and that there had been thick Canes driven upon those Shores, such as did not grow in this Part of the World; and when the West Winds blew, Pines were frequently driven on the *Azores* or Western Islands; Others that had sailed to the Westward

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Westward of the *Azores* some hundreds of Leagues, affirm'd they had seen an Island in those Seas. But his principal Encouragement to this Undertaking, was according to some Sea-Charts and Journals of a Pilot that died at his House in *Lisbon*, that appeared to have discovered some Land far to the Westward; and indeed by his persisting so long in the Resolution of sailing in search of a Country beyond the *Atlantic Ocean*, and applying to so many Princes and States for their Assistance, and his stipulating for no other Pay or Reward, than the Government of the Lands and Seas he should discover, one would be inclined to think, *Columbus* had some Certainty, or at least a very high Probability, of his succeeding in this Attempt; otherwise for a Man to venture to sail so many thousand Miles upon an Ocean, till then esteemed boundless, must have been deem'd rather rash Temerity, than Wisdom. However, his Son rejects this Story of the Pilot's dying at his House, and leaving him those Intimations of a Country he had discovered to the Westward, as derogatory to his Father's Honour, who, he insists, was the first Discoverer of that new World; and no doubt he was the first that discovered it to any purpose, so as to plant Colonies, and make Settlements there, in these latter Ages, which is an Honour that might satisfy his Descendants.

One

One would think the Discovery was made at first by Accident; and indeed, (as those Seas about the *Azores*, the *Camarines*, the *Cape Verde* Islands, and the Coast of *Guinea*, were then constantly navigated by the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, it is not improbable, that some one of their Ships should have been driven a Fortnight or three Weeks Sail to the Westward of their design'd Course, and discovered either the Islands or Continent of *America*, as 'tis said this Pilot did, who died at the House of *Christopher Columbus* in *Lisbon*.

But whatever were the Admiral's Motives to this Undertaking, he chose, it seems, rather to apply to sovereign Princes and States for their Assistance, than invite private Adventurers into the Project; foreseeing, that if he should himself, or in Partnership with others, arrive at the rich Countries he proposed to visit, the Prince, whose Subjects they were, would claim the Sovereignty of such Places, and dispose of them to whom he saw fit; or other Princes might fit out Fleets after he had found the Way to this new World, and deprive him and his Fellow-adventurers of the Advantage of their Discovery. It was extremely prudent therefore in him, to endeavour to engage some sovereign Prince in the Design; and, since he could not hope to obtain the Dominion of what he should discover, to stipulate for the second Place in

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those

those happy Regions he propos'd to come to (*viz.*) the Post of Viceroy by Land and Sea, which we find he always insist'd on, and obtain'd at length a Patent for. He might, no doubt, have been much sooner fitted out by private Owners; but then their Possession possibly, when they had succeeded in the Discovery, would have been more precarious, than their Voyage to this new World was at first thought to be. But to proceed: *Columbus*, having sail'd a great while in the *Portuguese* Service, married and settled at *Lisbon*, and advanced his Fortune there, first propos'd the finding out a Way to the *East-Indies* by the *Western* Ocean, to King *John* of *Portugal*; and gave such substantial Reasons for the Attempt, that the King seem'd to be convinc'd the Thing was feasible, tho' he did not approve the Terms our Adventurer propos'd. Therefore, while the Affair was negotiating, King *John*, 'tis said, privately dispatch'd a Ship to the Westward, with Orders to find out if there were any such Lands in those Seas as *Columbus* suppos'd. But whether the Commander wanted Courage or Capacity for such an Undertaking, it seems he return'd without meeting any thing to his Purpose; and laugh'd at the Conjectures of *Columbus*; at which he was so incens'd, that he left *Lisbon*, and went to *Spain*, dispatching at the same time his Brother *Bartholomew*

Columbus

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Columbus to *Henry VII*, King of *England*, with Charts and Maps, that might illustrate his Design: But his Brother being taken by Pirates, and not making the Dispatch that was expected, *Columbus* opened his Design to their Majesties *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Castile* and *Arragon*: And tho' his Brother *Bartholomew* afterwards reach'd *England*, and his Proposals were accepted by King *Henry VII*; yet *Columbus* having concluded an Agreement with the Court of *Spain* before he was advertised of his Brother's Success, *England* lost the Honour and Profit of this important Discovery.

This Affair, it seems, was many Years negotiating; and probably *Columbus* had meditated upon it, and weighed the Difficulties and Hazards of the Undertaking, a great while before he communicated it to any Man; for he is acknowledg'd by all to have been a Man of Prudence and Temper; and possibly, he had not obtained some Reputation for his Knowledge in Cosmography and Navigation, the Courts he applied himself to, had treated him no better than they usually do a common Projector; whereas we find he tells their Majesties *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Castile* and *Arragon*, in one of his Letters, *I have refused to take up with France, England and Portugal, as appears by the Letters I have received*

from those Princes, and which your Highnesses may see in the Hands of Dr. Villalan, that I may serve your Highnesses.

It appears from our own Histories, that his Brother *Bartholomew* was at the Court of *England* in the Year 1480, and that he had before treated with the King of *Portugal*, if not with *Spain*; and I'm apt to think that his Proposals were rejected by the *Spanish* Court at first, which occasioned his applying to *England* and *France*; but Queen *Isabella* encouraging the Scheme, by the Advice of ——— her Confessor, about the Year 1484, he seems from that time to have applied himself wholly to the *Spanish* Court. However, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* being yet engag'd in the Wars with the *Moors* in *Spain*, he was still delayed till the Year 1492, when a Supply of Money was provided, and *Columbus* entrusted with the equipping and fitting out three small Ships for the Expedition, in the Harbour of *Palos*. He also obtained a Grant from their Majesties to be Admiral of the *Western* Seas, with the same Privileges as the Admirals of *Castile* and *Leon* enjoyed; that all civil Employments, as well as Governments in the Continent, or World to be discovered, should be wholly at his Disposal; and, besides the Revenues of the Posts of Admiral and Viceroy, he should enjoy a Tenth

of

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of all the Profits arising by future Conquests in those yet unknown Lands.

And now *Columbus*, whom for the future, in Imitation of his Son, I shall stile Admiral, having equipp'd and victuall'd his three Ships, of which the chief, called the *St. Mary*, he commanded in Person, and the other two were commanded by the Captains *Martin-Alvazo-Pinzon* and *Vincent Pinzon*, two Brothers. This little Squadron, mann'd only with Ninety Men, and consequently none of the Vessels of any great Burthen, set sail from *Palos* for the *Canaries*, the third of *August* 1492, and arriv'd at those Islands the 12th. One of the Ships having received some Damage in this Passage, the Admiral remained there to refit and take in fresh Provisions, till the first of *September*, when he set sail again upon his grand Design. He had not sailed a Fortnight in this wide Ocean to the Westward, before his Men began to murmur at the Enterprize, imagining they were sent on certain Destruction; for they observed the Wind constantly sat from East to West, and apprehended there would be no Possibility of returning, if they miss'd of the Land they were made to expect: But on the 19th, observing some Birds fly over their Ships, and on the 22d, abundance of Weeds driving by them, they began to be better satisfied,

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satisfied, and concluded they were not far from Land.

However, continuing their Course still several Days farther Westward, and meeting with no Land, the Seamen mutinied to that degree, that they had almost agreed to throw their Admiral over-board, and return home without him; when, fortunately for him, they saw more Birds, Weeds, Pieces of Board, Canes, and a Shrub with the Berries upon it also swim by them, which made them conjecture there must be some Islands thereabouts; and indeed had the Admiral inclined a little more to the Southward, he would have made either the *Caribbee* Islands, *Hispaniola* or *Cuba*, some time before; for these lay now on the Left or Larboard Side of him; some of them a-stern, or rather on his Larboard Quarter: For the first Lands he

Land first
discovered.

made were the *Lucayo's* or *Babama* Islands, near the Coast of *Florida*. It was on *Thursday*, the 11th of *October*, 1492, about 10 at Night, that the Admiral first discover'd a Light upon the Island of *Guanabani*, or *St. Salvador*, as the Admiral named it, in Consideration that the Sight of it delivered both him and his Men from their Fears of perishing. (This Island lies 60 Degrees West of the *Canaries*, in 25 Degrees North Latitude.) About two in the Morning, the Ship called the *Pinta*, the best Sailor of the three, and which there-

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therefore usually kept a head of the Admiral, gave the Signal of Land, which was first seen with the naked Eye, when they were scarce two Leagues from the Shore, by *Roderick de Triana*, one of the common Seamen on board the *Pinta*, who had not, however, the Reward that was promised to the first Discoverer, it being adjudged that the Admiral was the first, because he saw a Light on the Island the Night before.

The Day appearing, the Ships came to an Anchor very near the Island, which they computed to be about 15 Leagues in Length, and found it to be populous, well planted, and watered with a great Lake, but generally flat low Land, without Hills: The Natives came down crouding to the Shore, and seem'd astonish'd at the Sight of the Ships; and the Admiral believing there was no great Danger to be apprehended from them, went on Shore in his Boat, with the Royal Standard, as did the other two Captains in their Boats, with their Colours flying. They no sooner came on Shore, but they kneel'd down, gave God Thanks for their Success, and kiss'd the Ground (says the Son of *Columbus*) with Tears of Joy; after which, the Admiral stood up, and having rear'd the Royal Standard, called the Island by the Name of *St. Salvador*, taking Possession of it in the Name of their Catholick Majesties,

with

with great Solemnity ; after which, his People recognized him their Admiral and Viceroy, swore to obey him, and beg'd Pardon for their perverse untractable Behaviour during the Voyage.

The *Indians*, in the mean time, stood gazing at the *Spaniards*, without attempting to oppose them, while they were thus taking Possession of their Country ; and the Admiral ordered some Strings of Glass Beads, Caps and Toys of small Value, that made a glittering Shew, to be distributed amongst the Natives ; at which they seem'd infinitely pleased, and immediately hung the Beads about their Necks, testifying, by all the Signs imaginable, the Value they set upon these Presents. They were all perfectly naked, of a middle Stature and olive Complexion, like those of the *Canaries* ; their Features just, only their Foreheads of the largest ; their Eyes black as well as their Hair, which was generally cut short above their Ears, tho' others wore it long and tied up ; some of them also had their Bodies painted with a kind of Vermilion, and others only painted their Faces with it. The principal Ornament about them, was a thin Gold Plate, in the Form of a Crescent, which hung from the Nose over the upper Lip, and their Arms were Spears pointed with the Bones of Fish. When the Admiral returned to his Ships, they followed

followed him, some swimming, and others in their Canoes, a Vessel made out of the Body of a Tree, some of which will hold forty Men, and others not more than two. When they came on Board, they brought Parrots and Cotton Yarn, all the Merchandize they had, to exchange for *European* Trifles. They seemed to set a Value upon every Piece of broken Glass or earthen Ware, jumping into the Sea, and swimming to Shore with such Trifles, with abundance of Joy. But they admired nothing more than the Swords, and bright Arms of the *Spaniards*, being at that time perfectly ignorant of the Use of Iron.

The Admiral demanding, as well as he could by Signs, from whence they had their Gold Plates, they pointed to the South and South-west, where they gave the *Spaniards* to understand, there were several large Countries well replenished with that precious Metal. The Admiral row'd in his Boats about the Island, to discover if there was any thing worth his settling there, being followed by the Islanders every where, who seem'd to adore him and his People, as if they were come from Heaven. From this Island, he sail'd to another of the *Bahama* Islands, which he called *St. Mary of Conception*; and, having view'd this, and several more of these Islands, and found nothing to invite him to stay here, he took seven of the Na-

tives with him, and set sail for the great Island of *Cuba*, which lies to the Southward of the *Bahama* Islands, arriving there on *Sunday*, the 28th of *October*: Here they found some Houses on the Shore, but the People all fled up into the Mountains on their Approach: Whereupon two *Spaniards* and two *Indians* were sent up into the Country to get Intelligence; who, returning again the fifth of *November*, reported, they travelled about twelve Leagues within the Land, that they came to a Town consisting of fifty large Timber Houses thatch'd, which contained about a thousand People, who came with great Respect, and kiss'd the two *Spaniards* Feet, giving them boil'd Roots to eat: They entreated them also to remain in their Country; and, when they saw them resolved to return to their Ships, would accompany their Guests thither; for the two *Indians* had informed the Natives, there was no Danger to be fear'd from the *Spaniards*. There were several other Towns the two *Spaniards* reported they had seen in their Journey, where they were hospitably entertained, and said the Country was well planted with Oaks, Pines, Palms, and Cotton Shrubs, and sown with *Indian* Corn; and they saw great Variety of Birds, but no Beasts, except some few dumb Dogs; that the *Indians* had great Quantities of Cotton-yarn
in

in their Houses, of which they made them Hammocks to lie in, and Aprons for their Women. But it being demanded of the Natives, if they had any Gold or precious Stones, they pointed towards the East, intimating, that in a great Country, called *Bobio*, and which the *Spaniards* afterwards named *Hispaniola*, there was plenty of these Things. Whereupon the Captain determining to sail Eastward, and taking twelve of the Natives of *Cuba*, Men, Women and Children with him; the Husband of one of the Women, and Father of two of the Children, who had been carried on board, came in a Canoo to the Ship, and desired he might also go with them, and not be parted from his Wife and Children: Whereupon the Captain ordered him to be taken on board; and, setting from *Cuba* the fifth of *December*, arrived the next Day at the Island of *Bobio*, about sixteen Leagues to the Eastward of *Cuba*; and here observing the Country to resemble that of *Spain* in several Particulars, he gave it the Name of *Hispaniola*, which it retains to this Day. Having sent some *Indians* and *Spaniards* on shore for Intelligence, the People at first run away, and abandoned their Houses; but the *Indians* afterwards informing the Natives, that there was nothing to be fear'd from the *Spaniards*, they returned, and shew'd them all imaginable Respect, offering them

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such Food as the Country afforded. But what the *Spaniards* were most inquisitive after, was the Place where they had their Gold from, observing most of them to wear thin Gold Plates at their Noses, as in the other Islands; and the People directing them further Eastward, the Admiral made no long Stay at the West-end of the Island, but sail'd again along the North Coast, in search of that precious Mineral. In which Voyage, one of their Caciques, or petty Kings of the Island, came on board the Admiral, with two or three hundred Men, and they made mutual Presents to each other: The *Indians* gave the *Spaniards* chiefly thin Gold Plates, and the Admiral returned them Beads, Toys, Carpets, and little Bells. But, a Night or two afterwards, the Admiral's Ship had the Misfortune to run a-ground, and could not be got off; so that he had now but one Ship left, *Martin Pinzon*, Captain of the third, having deserted him at the Island of *Cuba*, and sail'd for *Hispaniola*, in hopes of discovering the Gold Mines before the Admiral came thither. The *Spaniards* had the good Fortune to save all their Goods that were on board the Ship that was cast away, by the assistance of the Cacique and his *Indians*, whom the Admiral commends as an inoffensive hospitable People, ready to accommodate Strangers with every thing: He observes also, that

that they then went perfectly naked, and were almost as white as the *Europeans*.

To compensate for the Loss of his Ship, the *Indians* brought the Admiral a pretty deal of Gold, made into thin Plates, or Ornaments for the Neck or Face, and informed him he would meet with a great deal more at *Ciboa*, in the inland Country: Whereupon the Admiral built a Fort within a Harbour, which he called the *Port of the Nativity*, with the Timber of his wreck'd Ship; and leaving in it a Garrison of thirty-nine Men, with Cannon, small Arms, Ammunition and other Necessaries, he determined to return to *Spain*, and give an Account of the Success of his Voyage.

The Admiral sailing further Eastward the fourth of *January*, discovered, two Days after, his other Ship, commanded by *Martin Pinzon*, who came on board him, pretending to have been forced away by Stress of Weather, which the Admiral did not then think fit to dispute with him, tho' he very well knew *Pinzon* left him upon choice, there having been no bad Weather to force him away. *Pinzon* and his Men, it seems, had got a pretty deal of Gold by bartering with the Natives of *Hispaniola* for Trifles; but they agreed to conceal it from the Admiral, on the Captain's having given one half of it among his Crew.

The

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The Admiral sending seven of his Men on shore again, near the East-end of *Hispaniola*, they met with a stouter Race of *Indians*, about fifty-five in Number, arm'd with Bows, Arrows, and great Clubs, but perfectly naked, only their Heads adorned with a sort of Coronets of beautiful Feathers, and their Faces painted black, red, or white; their Bows were made of Yew, and their Arrows of a small Cane, pointed with a sharp Fish's Bone: And thus arm'd, appearing ready to fall upon the *Spaniards*, the latter fir'd their Guns, and wounded two or three of them; whereupon the rest of the *Indians* fled and dispersed. This Place *Columbus* named the *Bay* or *Gulph* of *Arrows*, from the Arms of the Natives; and here he relates he met with a great deal of Cotton and long Pepper.

The Admiral departed from the *Gulph* of *Arrows* (called *Samana* by the *Indians*) towards *Spain*, the 16th of *January*, and meeting with a Storm the 14th of *February*, he lost the Company of the other Ship, commanded by *Martin Pinzon*, about 150 Leagues West of the *Azores*: They all expected to have perished in this Storm, and went to their Prayers; after which they they cast Lots which of them should go on Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Guadalupe*, if they escaped, which fell upon the Admiral himself. Then they drew again, which of them should go to the

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the Lady of *Loretto* in *Italy*, on their Arrival in *Europe*, which fell to the Share of *Peter de Villa*, a Mariner of *Port St. Mary's*; and the Storm still increasing, they all made a Vow to go bare-foot in their Shirts at their Landing, to some Church of *Our Lady's*, and every one made private Vows besides for himself. In the Account *Columbus* gave to their Catholick Majesties of this Storm, he says, " I had
 " been less concerned at the Tempest, had
 " I alone been in danger, for I know I owe
 " my Life to the supreme CREATOR ;
 " and I have been at other times so near
 " Death, that very little was wanting to
 " compleat it. But what infinitely griev'd
 " me was, that GOD was pleased to frustrate this Enterprize, intended for the
 " Propagation of the Christian Religion,
 " and the Increase of your Majesties Dominions ; and what added to my Grief,
 " was, the Loss of those Men, who had
 " so bravely ventured their Lives with
 " me : Nor was it the least of my Afflictions, that I had left two Sons at
 " School at *Cordona*, destitute of Friends
 " in a strange Country ; and it could not
 " be known I had done any Service which
 " might incline your Highnesses to remember them : And tho', on the one
 " side, I comforted my self with the Belief that God would not permit a Thing,
 " which was so much for the Advantage.
 " of

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“ of His Church, to be left imperfect,
 “ when I had, with such Apposition
 “ and Labour, almost brought it to Per-
 “ fection; yet on the other hand, I was
 “ afraid I was far from meriting so
 “ great an Honour. In this Perplexity,
 “ I meditated on your Highnesses good
 “ Fortune, and considered, that tho’ I
 “ were dead, and the Ship lost, you might
 “ some way reap the Fruits of this En-
 “ terprize: As briefly as I could, there-
 “ fore, I wrote a Narrative in Parchment
 “ of what I had discovered, in how many
 “ Days I performed the Voyage, and what
 “ Way I had done it, with the Nature of
 “ those Lands, and of the Inhabitants;
 “ and that your Majesties Subjects were left
 “ in Possession of what I had discovered;
 “ which Writting, folded up and seal’d, I
 “ address’d to your Highnesses, promising
 “ a Reward of a thousand Ducats to him
 “ that should deliver it to you seal’d,
 “ that if any Foreigner found it, the pro-
 “ mised Reward might induce him not to
 “ give it to another; then I wrapp’d the
 “ Writing in an oil’d Cloth, and inclosed
 “ that in a Ball of Wax, which I put
 “ into an empty Cask; and, having bung’d
 “ the Cask up close, threw it into the
 “ Sea. Another Cask, with a Copy of
 “ the same Writing enclosed in like man-
 “ ner, I placed on the highest part of the
 “ Ship; so that if the Ship sunk, the
 “ Cask

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“Cask might still remain above Wa-
“ter. *the ship of February and 10th 1600*

The Admiral, however, had the good Fortune to weather this Storm, and, on Friday the 15th of February, made the Islands of *Azores*, and the next Day came to an Anchor at *St. Mary's*, where the Country People brought on board fresh Provisions, and treated them very kindly; and here finding an Hermitage dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, they agreed to go barefoot, and in their Shirts, to the Chapple of the Hermitage, according to their Vow in the Storm; and accordingly the Admiral sent one half of the Ships Crew, to perform their Devotions there, determining on their Return to go himself thither with the rest of the Company: And having waited a whole Day in Expectation of his Men, he understood that they were made Prisoners in the Island. But giving the *Portuguese* to understand, that this Outrage would probably occasion a War between their *Catholick* and *Portuguese* Majesties; and that, if his Men were not returned, he would make Reprisals, and carry double their Number off the Islands; they consented, at length, to release the *Spaniards*, who reported, at their coming on board, that the King of *Portugal* had sent Orders to all Places under his Dominion, that they should secure the Person of the Admiral by any means whatever.

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The

The Admiral set sail from the *Azores* the 24th of *February*, and soon after met with another terrible Storm, not inferior to the former, which drove him, much against his Will, into the River of *Lisbon* in *Portugal*; however, he was received here, contrary to his Expectations, very hospitably. The People of *Lisbon* crowded on board to see him and the *Indians* he had brought from the new World; some of them applauding the glorious Enterprize, while others curs'd the Covetousness and Incredulity of their Ministers, which had loss'd them the Honour and Advantage of the Discovery.

The next Day, the King of *Portugal* ordered the Admiral to be furnished with all manner of fresh Provisions gratis, and wrote to him, congratulating his Arrival, and inviting him to Court; and, on his coming on shore, the Nobility and Officers of State were ordered to attend him, and he was admitted to sit covered in his Majesty's Presence. But the King intimated, he thought the Discovery belonged to him, as the Admiral had resided most of his Life in that Kingdom: To which the Admiral answered, His Majesty did not think fit to listen to the Overtures he had made him; that he went out with the King of *Spain's* Commission, and had punctually observ'd his Orders, not to go to the *Portuguese* Mines in *Guinea*. And now the
Admiral,

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Admiral, it seems, was under some Apprehensions, that the King of Portugal would detain him; but, after two Days, his Majesty dismissed the Admiral with great Civility, letting him know, that if he chose to go to Spain by Land, he would be at the Expence of his Journey; but the Admiral chose to return by Sea, and arrived at *Palos* in *Andalusia*, on the 12th of *March* 1492, having set out from hence the third of *August* before, making his Voyage to the new World, and back again in seven Months and eleven Days. Here the People received him with a solemn Procession and Thanksgiving for his Return, most of his Seamen, it seems, belonging to this Port.

Here the Admiral heard, that *Martin Bizarra*, Captain of his other Ship, was arrived in *Galicia*, and had given Advice of it to the Court of Spain, proposing to have brought the first News of the *American* Discovery; but their Catholick Majesties sent him Word, that he should attend on the Admiral, to his great Mortification; and this mutinous Officer, who had given the Admiral very great Disturbance in his Voyage, retired thereupon in Discontent to his native Country, where he died soon after.

Their Catholick Majesties being at *Barcelona* at this Time, when the Admiral drew near that City, all the Court went

down

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out

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Admiral, it seems, was under some Apprehensions, that the King of Portugal would detain him; but, after two Days, his Majesty dismissed the Admiral with great Civility, letting him know, that if he chose to go to Spain by Land, he would be at the Expence of his Journey; but the Admiral chose to return by Sea, and arrived at *Palos* in *Andalusia*, on the 10th of *March* 1492, having set out from thence the third of *August* before, making his Voyage to the new World, and back again in seven Months and eleven Days. Here the People received him with a solemn Procession and Thanksgiving for his Return, most of his Seamen, it seems, belonging to this Port.

Here the Admiral heard, that *Martin Pinzon*, Captain of his other Ship, was arrived in *Galicia*, and had given Advice of it to the Court of Spain, proposing to have brought the first News of the American Discovery; but their Catholick Majesties sent him Word, that he should attend on the Admiral, to his great Mortification; and this mutinous Officer, who had given the Admiral very great Disturbance in his Voyage, retired thereupon in Discontent to his native Country, where he died soon after.

Their Catholick Majesties being at *Barcelona* at this Time, when the Admiral drew near that City, all the Court went

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out to meet him, and he was received with the Honours due to a sovereign Prince; nor was it easy to determine, whether the Admiral had greater Satisfaction in relating, or their Majesties in hearing the Discoveries he had made in the new World. The Rejoicings for the Success of this great Enterprize being over, their Majesties confirmed to the Admiral the Viceroyship of all the Islands and Continent to the Westward of the *Azores*, and the *Cape Verde* Islands, which he either had or should discover and conquer, empowering him to appoint all Governors, civil and military, in these new discovered *Indies* (as they were called, it being then imagined, that they lay contiguous to, or near the *East-Indies*) and Orders were given for the fitting out a Fleet immediately to plant and take Possession of those Countries, in which such Diligence was used, that the Admiral set sail again, with seventeen Ships and fifteen Hundred Men, from the Road of *Cadix* the 25th of *September* 1493. He touch'd at the *Canaries* as in the first Voyage; and, departing from those Islands the 7th of *October*, made *St. Dominica*, one of the *Caribbee* Islands, the second of *November*, in the Night-time, when by their reckoning they were between 750 and 800 Leagues from the *Canaries*. Meeting with no convenient Harbour in *St. Dominica*,
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which he so named from its being discovered on a *Sunday*, he sailed to another Island, which he called *Marigalante*, which was the Name of his Ship; where landing, and taking Possession of it for their Catholick Majesties, he returned on board again, and sail'd to another of the *Caribbee* Islands, which he called *St. Mary of Guadalupe*, at the Request of some Friars who belong'd to a Monastery of that Name in *Spain*. He found a little Town here; but the Inhabitants were all fled into the Woods, except some Children, to whom they gave some glittering Toys, to entice their Parents to come and traffick with them. The next Day, the Admiral sent his Boats on shore again, and his People brought off two young *Indians*, who said they were not Inhabitants of that Island, but of another called *Boriquen* (now *St. John*;) That the Natives of *Guadalupe* were *Caribbees*, or *Canibals*, and had taken them Prisoners. The same Day, six *Indian* Women fled to the *Spaniards*, and came voluntarily on board their Ships, for fear of the *Caribbees*; but the Admiral caused them all to be set on shore again, giving them Glass beads, Bells, and other things, which he thought would strike the Fancies of their Masters; and they were no sooner landed, but the *Spaniards* saw the *Caribbees* take all these Toys from them. After which, the Captives came running again

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again to the Ships Boats, begging that the *Spaniards* would take them on board, for the *Caribbees* would eat them, or make Slaves of them at least: And accordingly the Admiral ordered them to be brought to the Fleet, with another young Man, and two Children, that made their Escape also from the *Caribbees*: But, it seems, these People of the Island of *Boriquen*, or *St. John's*, who had been taken by the *Caribbees* of *Guadalupe*, pretended it was their Custom to kill and eat only the Men they took, and reserve the Women alive, either for Slaves, or their Pleasure. Still the Natives of *Guadalupe* refused to return to their Houses; whereupon the Admiral landed, and took a particular View of their Town, and found a great deal of Cotton, spun and unspun, Looms to weave Cotton-Net-Hammocks, abundance of Men's Skulls hung up, and Baskets of Bones. These were better Houses, and more plentifully furnished with Provisions, than any the Admiral saw in his first Voyage.

On Sunday the 10th of November, he weighed Anchor, and sail'd along the Coast of *Guadalupe*, towards the North-west, for *Hispaniola*, and came to another Island, to which he gave the Name of *Montserrat*, because of its great Height; and the *Indians* that were with him, informed him, that it was depopulated by the *Caribbees*, who had devoured the Inhabitants.

And sailing on further Westward, he saw abundance of other Islands; amongst the rest, that of *St. Martin*, where he met with a Canoo, having four Men and a Woman in it, who fought his Boat's Crew with their Bows and Arrows; and the Boat oversetting the Canoo, one of the *Indians* shot several Arrows as he swam in the Water; However, they were at length all taken up, and the *Spaniards* observed that the Men were castrated; it being usual, says the Son of *Columbus*, for the *Caribbees* to geld their Captives, as we do Capons, that their Flesh may relish the better. The Admiral having passed by above fifty other Islands, which he left to the Northward, came, at length, to the Island of *Boriquen*, which he named *St. John Baptist*, and anchored in a Bay on the West-side of it, where he met with several Houses pleasantly situated.

Before I proceed further in the Description of this second Voyage to the new World, give me leave to consider a little the Account these Discoverers give us of the *Caribbees*, whom they will have to be Canibals, or Devourers of human Flesh. I must confess, I have hitherto been of Opinion, that there never was a Nation of Canibals upon the Face of the Earth. From the Beginning of the World, we may observe, that every People almost has
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look'd upon those, who were situated at a Distance from them, as *Barbarians*; and, upon the first Discovery of them, ascrib'd abundance of monstrous and unnatural Customs and Practices to them, and among the rest, frequently that of being Devourers of human Flesh. Thus it appears, many of the Ancients treated each other, and we of these latter Ages seem to copy after them. There are some Islands that lie in the Bay of *Bengal*, in the *East-Indies*, which we were assured were inhabited by Canibals, by the first Adventurers that sailed to the *East-Indies*; but, upon our better Acquaintance with them, there appeared to be no Canibals there; nay, they were so far from eating human Flesh, that they eat no Flesh at all. On my travelling into the Mountains, and most inaccessible Parts of the *East-Indies*, where they had scarce any Traffic or Correspondence with the *Europeans*, I found that they had as barbarous Notions of us, as we could have of them, or of any others we knew but little of. On the Coast of *Guinea*, where we trade chiefly for Slaves, the unhappy Captives have a Notion we buy them up to fatten, and then feed on them; which, 'tis said, has been the Occasion of many desperate Attempts to free themselves, and murder the Seamen that are sent to transport them to the Plantations in *America*. On the first Discovery of *America*,

rica, there was scarce a Country or Island in that part of the World, but we were told was replenished with Man-eaters; but, now we are perfectly well acquainted with them, it is very certain there are no Canibals to be found, any more than *Amazons*, *Giants*, or other *Monsters*, which our first Voyage-writers describe. But here I am aware it may be objected, that since the Christians came amongst them, they are civilized, and have left off many of their barbarous Customs; and this indeed may be of some Weight in regard to those Countries that are under the Dominion of the Christians: But as to the inland Parts both of *North* and *South America*, in which the Christians have little or no Influence, as appears by their retaining the rest of their ancient Customs and Superstitions, this Argument is of no Force. And as to the *Giants* and *Monsters* that are said to be found in *America* on the first Discovery, as this has happened within the Space of three hundred Years, it is strange there should be none of the Race of them left, if there ever were any such.

Besides, I don't remember to have met with any Traveller, or Writer of Credit, that will take upon him to say he has ever seen that People, that made human Flesh their ordinary Food. We may observe in the Relation before us, that *Columbus's Son*

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says no more, than that they took some People at the Island of *Guadalupe*, who said they were Natives of the Island of *St. John*, and, being made Prisoners by the *Caribbees*, apprehended they should either be eaten, or made Slaves of; for they had heard that this was common at *Guadalupe*, and the other Islands inhabited by the *Caribbees*. But all this is but Hearsay-Evidence: None of them pretend to say, they had seen Men slaughtered, *and their Flesh dressed on purpose to be eaten*. I am inclined therefore to think, that those Islands where the *Caribbees* are said to have inhabited, were peopled from that part of the Continent where human Sacrifices were offered to their Gods; for the Men sacrificed on these Occasions, were usually Captives taken in War. It might be true enough, that the *Caribbees* sacrificed the Men they took from other Islands; they might fat them too, to make the Victims the more acceptable, as we find the best and fattest Animals were always made choice of for Sacrifice. But as to the *Indians eating* these human Sacrifices, or *making human Flesh their common Food*; this might be, and probably was, an Addition of the unhappy Captives, who look'd upon their Masters, as capable of any Barbarity, after they had seen them sacrificing Men. It was from the Report and Apprehensions of these Slaves, it seems, that

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we received the Notion of the *Caribbees* being Canibals. However, if I meet with any Confirmation of this Practice in the Course of this History, I shall not fail to represent the Evidence impartially; and, whenever it shall appear probable to me that there ever was such a People, I shall not be ashamed to own my Mistake. In the mean time, I must beg Leave to suspend my Belief of a Custom so very unnatural, till I see it better proved.

To return to our History: The Admiral arriving at *Hispaniola* the 12th of *November*, found that all the People he had left in the Fort he built there, and called *The Nativity*, were dead: The Natives informed him, that some of them died a natural Death, others parted from their Company, and were destroyed by the *Indians* as they straggled into the inland Country in search of Gold, and the rest were defeated and slain by a Cacique who came down from the Mountains, and attack'd the small remainder that were left in their Fort, notwithstanding the Cacique, or Prince, the Admiral had enter'd into Alliance with in the first Voyage, did all he could to protect the *Spaniards*; and it appeared, that this Cacique, and several of his People, were wounded in an Engagement with the *Indians* of the Mountains, who had over-powered the *Spaniards* and their Friends, and destroyed the Fort.

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He understood also, that the little Garrison he left soon fell into Parties and Divisions, and had led most abandon'd Lives, taking four or five Women a-piece, and perhaps some of them by Force; which, with their Attempts to discover the Gold the *Indians* were possess'd of, probably hasten'd their Ruin. The Admiral going to visit the Cacique *Guacanagari*, the *Spaniards* Ally, who lay ill of the Wounds he received in the Engagement with *Caunabo* the Cacique of the Mountains; *Guacanagari* lamented the Misfortune of the Men he left in the Island, shewed him his Wounds, that appeared to be given him by their Country Weapons, and not by the Christians; which satisfied the Admiral he had no Hand in the Destruction of the *Spaniards*: Afterwards, the Cacique presented him with a String of Gold Beads, a Regal Crown of Gold, and three Calabashes full of Gold Dust, amounting to about Two Pound Weight of Gold; in return for which, the Admiral gave him some Toys, and glittering Trifles, which the *Indians* esteemed much more valuable. But, if Knives and Tools were among these Toys, surely the *Spaniards* had no reason to laugh at the Folly of the *Indians*; for to them who had seen nothing of that kind before, these Things must in reality be more valuable than Gold.

The Admiral having observed other Parts of the Island more convenient for building a Town, and settling a Colony, than that where he built the first Fort, return'd with his Fleet farther Eastward; and, near a Mountain he had named *Monte Christo*, finding a commodious Harbour near the Mouth of a River, and a Rock that was a good natural Fortification, he laid out the Plan of a Town, to which he gave the Name of *Isabella*, being the Name of the Queen of *Castile*: And, while one Part of his Men were busied in building this Town, another Detachment was sent to discover the Country of *Ciboa*, about three or fourscore Miles to the Southward of it, where the greatest Plenty of Gold was to be found, according to the Information of the Natives: For, tho' the *Spaniards* frequently insinuate, that their grand Design in planting these Countries was to extend and advance the Kingdom of Christ; nothing is more evident, than that the possessing the Gold that they expected to find there, was the principal Thing they had in View. For this no Labour or Hazard was thought too much; and few of the Chiefs, employ'd in these Discoveries and Conquests, stuck at any Villany to gratify their insatiable Avarice.

The Admiral having sent a Party of Men to discover the Country of *Ciboa*, from whence most of the Gold was brought, and

and receiving Advice that it was generally a rocky Country, pretty well replenish'd with Rivers, in whose Sands were found a pretty deal of Gold Dust; he went thither in Person, in order to build a Fort there that might command the Natives; having first sent twelve of his Ships back to *Spain*, and so disposed of the rest as to prevent a Mutiny in his Absence: For the Adventurers, having flatter'd themselves that they should immediately possess Mountains of Gold, when they found there was a great deal of Labour and Fatigue to be undergone, in building Forts and Towns, and making Discoveries, before they must expect to accomplish their Ends; they form'd a Conspiracy against the Admiral, and had even laid a Design to run away with the remaining Ships, and return to *Spain*: But *Columbus*, having discover'd the Plot, and so disposed Things as to prevent a Mutiny for the future, he set out for the Country of *Ciboa*, with a strong Party of Men, and some Horses and Mules; and here he erected a Fortress, to which he gave the Name of *St. Thomas*, in which he left a Garrison of four hundred Men, and upwards, and then return'd to his Ships in the Harbour of *Isabella*.

In this Expedition, the Admiral observes, that the Natives were under the greatest Consternation when they saw their Horses; and, tho' the *Indians* would
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sometimes venture to engage their Foot, a single Horseman might drive Hundreds of them before him. They did not think themselves secure, even when there was a deep River between them and the Horse; for they imagin'd the Creature could fly; and, as the Poet suggests, perhaps they took the Horse and the Rider for one Animal.

The Admiral, having put the Town of *Isabella* and the Fort of *St. Thomas* in a Posture of Defence, and left a sufficient Body of Troops in the Country, to keep the Natives in awe, determin'd to go upon new Discoveries: Whereupon he nominated a Council of his principal Officers, to take the Government of the Island upon them in his Absence, in which his Brother *James Columbus* was to preside, and then set Sail to the Westward, with three Ships, for *Cuba*, not knowing yet whether it were an Island or Part of the Continent. In this Voyage he met with several good Harbours and Rivers, and found the Country to be very fruitful. He also discover'd the Island of *Jamaica*, to the Southward of *Cuba*; which he commends as a more populous, pleasant, and fruitful Country than either *Cuba* or *Hispaniola*; and relates, that it was inhabited by a warlike People, who attack'd his Men with their Bows and Arrows, and would not permit him to make a
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Settlement on the Island: Whereupon he return'd to *Cuba*, determining to sail along that Coast, five or six hundred Leagues to the Westward, till he found whether it was an Island or not; but he met with so many small Islands, Rocks and Sands on the Coast, together with bad Weather, as made most of his Men sickly, as well as himself; and he was obliged to return to the Town of *Isabella* in *Hispaniola*, without effecting his Design.

While the Admiral was absent, Don *Peter Margarete*, to whom he had given the Command of the Flying-Army that was to keep the Country in Subjection, aspiring after the sole Command of the Island, and refusing to obey the Council the Admiral entrusted with the Government; finding he could not obtain his Ends, left the Country, and transported himself to *Spain*: Whereupon his Troops dispers'd themselves, and, committing great Outrages, several of the Caciques of the Island assembled their Forces in their Defence, and cut off a great many of the *Spaniards*; but the Admiral being return'd, assembled his scatter'd Forces, and, with the Assistance of the Cacique *Guanagari*, his faithful Ally, subdued all the Country under the Obedience of his Catholick Majesty; tho', 'tis said, one of the *Indian* Armies that opposed him consisted of an hundred thousand Men; and

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all the Admiral's Troops, that took the Field, amounted to no more than two hundred Foot, twenty Horse, and twenty great Dogs. But, if we consider the Consternation the Natives must be in, when they were attack'd with Fire-Arms, and especially Cannon, which they had never seen before; I don't think these Accounts very improbable. Nor were the Horse and Dogs, it seems, less terrible to them than the great Guns, as they were not able to escape from them when they fled.

Certain it is, the Inhabitants of *Hispaniola* were subdued in this second Voyage of *Columbus*, who imposed a Tribute on them; and, having taken *Cauhabo*, the most powerful Cacique or Prince of the Island, Prisoner, sent him to *Spain*. This Cacique acknowledg'd, that it was he that destroy'd the first *Spanish* Fort, call'd *Sancti Spiritus*, and put to the Sword above twenty of the Garrison the Admiral had left there.

The Tribute the Natives of *Ciboa* (where the Gold was found) agreed to pay the *Spaniards*, was a large Horse-Bell full of Gold Dust for every Head above fourteen Years of Age, once a Quarter; and the rest were to pay twenty-five Pounds of Cotton per Head every three Months. And now the *Spaniards* had no Enemies remaining in the Island; but suffer'd very much from the Unhealthfulness of the Cl-

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mate, one half of them being swept away by pestilential Distempers; and the frequent Mutinies of the Spaniards against the Admiral (who was a Foreigner) and their Diffensions among themselves, were still more fatal to them, and retarded their making farther Discoveries for some time. And here it may be proper to take some notice of the Religion and Customs of the Natives, when the Spaniards first arriv'd at Hispaniola; of which the Admiral himself gives us the following Account to consider.

The Religion of the Natives of Hispaniola when Columbus arriv'd there.

He says, that every one of their Kings or Caciques (who were very numerous) had a House set apart for their Images, which they call'd *Cemis*: That these Images were either of carv'd Wood or Stone, and the Natives pray'd to them, and perform'd such Acts of Worship and Adoration as the Catholics did to their Images in their Churches: That these Images bore the Name of their Fathers, Grandfathers, or other more remote Ancestors; and that there were nine or ten of them frequently in one House or Temple: That they shew'd more Devotion and Reverence to some than they did to others, and address'd themselves to different Images on different Occasions; to some they pray'd for Health, to others for Plenty, and to others for seasonable Weather, Success in their Enterprizes, &c. But that these they worship'd

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worship'd as inferior Deities, and had a much greater Veneration for the Sun, of which Planet however they made no Image or Resemblance.

That the Cacique seem'd to be Chief Priest of his Temple; as well as Sovereign of his People; and made use of many holy Cheats to keep his People in Awe, and draw Money from them; causing Answers to be given as from the Mouth of the Image address'd to, as was practis'd by some Oracles of old, and is by some Miracle-mongers among the Papists at present.

They had various Ways of disposing of their Dead: Some they buried in Caves, others they burnt in the Houses where they died; but their Caciques and great Men were embowel'd and dry'd, in order to preserve the Corpse as long as possible.

After Death, they apprehended they should pass to some delightful Plains (by their Description not unlike the *Elysian* Fields) where they should meet with their Ancestors, Kindred and Friends, and enjoy all the Pleasures that Food, Women, or the most charming Situation could afford; and, lastly, that they had Physicians amongst them that administer'd medicinal Herbs, Roots and Plants to their Patients; but pretended to effect the Cure chiefly by Magick, or the Assistance of Demons,

and with

with whom, they taught the People, they convers'd. The Admiral, having settled the Government of the Island, and built three Fortresses, besides that of *Isabella*, to preserve his Conquest, thought fit to return to *Spain*; for he found so many ill Offices had been done him by his Enemies, that the Court of *Spain* neglected to send him any farther Reinforcements, to enable him to extend his Discoveries. He seem'd under a Necessity therefore of attending their Catholick Majesties in Person, in order to set Matters right, and procure such Supplies as were wanting; and accordingly, setting Sail to the Eastward on the 10th of *March*, the Wind being directly against him, he arrived, with infinite Labour, at the *Caribbee* Islands the 10th of *April*; where he took in fresh Provisions. Had he stood to the Northward, instead of plying to the East, as all Shipping do now that comes from *Cuba* or *Hispaniola*, he would soon have come into the Way of the Westerly Winds, and might have arrived in *Spain* as soon as he did at the *Caribbees*; but, labouring thus against the Trade-Winds, which sit constantly from the North-east, or thereabouts, near the Tropic of *Cancer*, he made it the 9th of *June* before he came upon the Coast of *Spain*, being near three Months after his setting Sail from the Town of *Isabella*.

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The Admiral, attending their Catholick Majesties at *Burgos*, presented them with such Foreign Plants and Animals as he judg'd would be most acceptable to them, and with some Gold-plate and Gold-dust, but in no great Quantities, and was in appearance graciously received: But the Court were much disappointed that they received little more than Trifles for all the Expence they had been at; they expected to have entered immediately on Mountains of Gold, and to have loaden their Ships home with it; whereas they could not yet hear of any Mines that were opened, and met only with small Quantities of the Dust that was washed down from the Mountains, or in the Sands of Rivers.

This, with the Practices of the Admiral's Enemies, who insinuated that he was not equal to the great Work he had undertaken, and by no means qualified to civilize and govern barbarous Nations, very much abated the Zeal of the *Spanish* Court for supporting and enlarging their Discoveries in the New World; insomuch that the Admiral was forc'd to remain near two Years at the Court of *Spain*, before he could attain the Supplies he solicited for.

And notwithstanding the Admiral appears to have been a very great and good Man, yet there seems to have been some Errors in his Conduct, that very much retarded

tarded his further Discoveries, and rendered the Enterprize less advantageous to himself and his Royal Employers, than it might have been in his Life-time.

When the *Spaniards* appeared so sanguine on his first Discovery, as to equip him out immediately for a second Voyage, with seventeen Ships, crouded with Men and all manner of Necessaries, had he employed a dozen of these Ships as many different Ways on his Arrival at *Hispaniola*, instead of sending them home again with Trifles, he had probably discovered the rich Treasures of *Mexico* and *Peru* in that Voyage, and encreas'd the great Opinion the *Spaniards* entertained of him on his first Success; instead of which, not finding their Expectations answered, they began to quarrel with the Admiral, grew cool upon the Matter, and not long after, in a manner, became his Enemies; insomuch that he was in great danger of losing his Head, instead of receiving a Reward for the inexpressible Labour and Hazards he had undergone, to add another World to their Dominions, as will appear in the following Relation.

The Admiral, after near two Year's Attendance at the Court of *Spain*, having, at length, procured six Ships, set sail on the 30th of *May* 1498, for *America* again, and in his Way touch'd at the *Maderas*. He afterwards made the Island of *Ferro*, the

the most Westerly of the *Canaries*, from whence he detach'd three of his Ships directly for *Hispaniola*; and with the other three bent his Course towards the Islands of *Cape Verde*, which lie in fifteen Degrees North Latitude: Here he touch'd again; and, having taken in some Refreshments, held on his Course to the South-west, in Expectation of discovering the Continent, till he came into five Degrees North Latitude; but meeting here with Calms, and excessive hot Weather, with abundance of Thunder and Lightning, he was deterred from sailing any further to the South, and bent his Course to the North-west, till he came into seven Degrees North Latitude, and then he steer'd due West; which Course having continued some Days, he discovered a large Island on the first of *August*, to which he gave the Name of *The Trinity*, which lies near the Mouth of the River *Oroonoko* in *South America*; and in a Day or two after, he made the Continent of *Paria* or *Guiana*, now called *New-Andalusia*, lying about seven Degrees South of *Barbadoes*.

The Admiral going on shore on the 5th of *August*, bartered away some Trifles with the Natives of *Paria*, and observed they were rather whiter than those of *Hispaniola*; that the Men wore their Hair long, and had little Aprons and Caps of Cotton-Linnen; that the Women wore little

little Gold-Plates and Chains of Pearl about their Necks, but had no Aprons or Covering for their Nudities; and that they were generally a harmless inoffensive People (not Canibals, as some represent them.)

The Admiral, having spent about a For-night upon the Coast of *Paria*, in getting what Intelligence he could of that Continent, set sail directly for *Hispaniola*, and arrived at *St. Domingo*, a Town that his Brother (and Lieutenant) had built on the South-side of the Island, and so named in memory of their Father *Dominick*, on the 30th of *August* 1498. The continual Labour and Watchings the Admiral had endured in attempting to discover the Continent, made the Sight of *Hispaniola* very acceptable to him, where he hoped to have enjoyed some Ease and Satisfaction after numberless Hazards and Fatigues; but to his great Mortification he found the Island in the utmost Distraction: He had left his Brother his Lieutenant, as has been related, during his Absence, and one *Francis Roldan*, a *Spaniard*, in the Quality of Chief Justice, who agreed pretty well in their respective Commands for the first Year after the Admiral's Return to *Spain*; but there being no News what was become of him, and generally believed that he was lost, *Roldan*, 'tis said, began to entertain Thoughts of setting up for himself,

self, and expelling the Admiral's Brothers from the Island, representing that the Family of *Columbus* were Foreigners, who had form'd a Design of aggrandizing themselves at the Cost of the *Spaniards*, and intended to usurp the Dominion of their Fellow-Adventurers, as well as of the Lands they had discover'd and conquer'd with their Arms: And to gain the *Indians*, he observ'd, that the Admiral had imposed a Tribute on them, to enrich himself, without the Knowledge of the King of *Spain*, and designed to use them as his Slaves, and by these seditious Discourses, made such a Party among the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, as had very near occasioned a general Revolt. It was with a great deal of difficulty, therefore, that *James Columbus* preserved part of the Island under his Obedience, till the Admiral returned: Nor could he himself accommodate the Matter, and reduce the Country to a State of Tranquillity, till he consented to confirm *Roldan* perpetual Chief Justice of the Island.

And now applying himself to the digging of the Gold Mines, he found such Plenty of that Metal, that one Man frequently got five Marks of Gold in a Day's time; by which means *Columbus* and his Family were in a fair Way of becoming immensely rich, when another Insurrection was rais'd against him by *Alonzo de Ojeda*, a considerable *Spaniard*, whom he

had employed to make Discoveries upon the Coast of *Paria*: And tho' the Admiral, by his excellent Conduct, found means to maintain his Authority in the Island, and depress his Enemies there; yet they appeared too hard for him in the Court of *Spain*, by the malicious Stories they transmitted thither. They represented him to the King, as ambitious, covetous, and tyrannical; that he had no true Notions of Government, and used both *Spaniards* and *Indians* as Slaves; that he possess'd himself of vast Treasures, while he conceal'd the richest Mines from the King's Officers: And these Gentlemen having Friends and Relations in the Court of *Spain* to back their Complaints and malicious Suggestions, at length work'd him out of the King's Favour. But perhaps nothing was a greater Inducement to King *Ferdinand* to deprive him of his Government, than the Heaps of Gold he was told would flow into his Treasury, on his removing the Admiral: His Majesty therefore sent over *Francis Bovadilla*, a *Spanish* Knight, to *Hispaniola*, to enquire into the Admiral's Conduct, giving him Authority to apprehend him, and send him to *Spain*, if he thought fit, requiring all the Commanders and Officers of the Island to assist *Bovadilla*: He sent a Letter to the Admiral himself also, commanding him to obey this new Governor.

Columbus,

Columbus, on the Arrival of *Bovadilla* with these Orders, surrendered himself up on the first Summons (tho' he was now in a Condition to have held the Island against all the Power the *Spaniards* could have sent thither;) believing that on his representing his Case to the King and Queen of *Spain*, of whom he had deserv'd so well, he should be restored to his Command, especially as he was conscious his Enemies could prove none of the Things they had laid to his Charge.

The insolent *Bovadilla* made the most of his Commission; he immediately took Possession of the Admiral's Palaces, and all his Effects, and clapping him and his Brother in Irons, sent them both Prisoners to *Spain*: The Captain of the Ship, indeed, ashamed to see this great Man in Fetters, offered to ease him of them; but he was resolved to carry them to *Europe*, as an Evidence perhaps of *Spanish* Gratitude; for he could not believe that *Bovadilla*, durst have used him in this barbarous manner, if he had not express Orders for it from Court. However, their Catholick Majesties no sooner heard of the Admiral's Arrival, but they sent Orders to release him and invite him to Court, assuring him that *Bovadilla* had exceeded his Commission, and that his Estate should be restored, and he should be continued in the Command of all he had discovered in the New World;

for it evidently appeared that the Complaints that had been brought against him, proceeded either from Self-interest, or Malice. But notwithstanding the Admiral was innocent, and had the Titles of Admiral and Viceroy of the *Indies* continued to him, he appears to have been actually deprived of his Government of *Hispaniola*, and another was sent thither in his room, that would be more acceptable to the *Spaniards*, as well as the *Indians*, as was supposed, and bring more Treasure into their Majesties Coffers: Which the Admiral so much resented, that he had determined to retire, and lead a private Life, without attempting any further Discoveries; for he reflected, that if what he had done for the *Spanish* Nation could not induce them to use him well, nothing that he could do hereafter would. But the King, either considering what Dishonour the laying the Admiral aside might reflect upon him, or imagining he might make yet more profitable Discoveries, persuaded *Columbus* to put to Sea again, vested with the like Powers he had conferred on him in his former Voyages.

Accordingly the Admiral set sail from *Cadiz* with four Ships, from 50 to 70 Tun, and 140 Men, on the 9th of *May*, 1502; and, touching at the *Canaries* the 20th of the same Month, where he took in Wood and Water, he sail'd from thence

thence the 24th, and arriv'd at *Martico*, one of the *Caribbee* Islands, the 15th of *June*, and the latter End of the same Month came before *St. Domingo*, in *Hispaniola*: But the Admiral was not suffered to enter that Port, tho' most of his Estate and Effects lay thereabouts, and he had represented to the *Spanish* Governor, that one of his Ships was much damaged, and he apprehended a Storm: From whence, 'tis too plain, that the Court of *Spain* had given Orders, that he should never more reside in *Hispaniola*, which he had conquered for them. The Admiral, however, had the good Fortune to get into a little Creek in the Island, where he weather'd a very terrible Storm, in which *Bovadilla* his great Enemy, and fourteen Ships loaden with Treasure, and bound for *Spain*, perished.

The Admiral, after the Storm was over, left the Coast of *Hispaniola*, and sailing to the Westward, pass'd by the South-side of the Island of *Jamaica*, from whence continuing his Course, he arriv'd at the Island of *Guayana*, in the Gulph of *Honduras*, where he met with a Canoo as long as a Galley, and eight Foot wide, made of one Tree; which being loaden with such Merchandize as the neighbouring Continent afforded, and having twenty-five Men, and several Women and Children on board, bound for the Coast
of

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of *Mexico*, he made them Prisoners: He found on board the Canoo several large Pieces of Cotton-Linnen, Quilts, and quilted Waistcoats, without Sleeves, finely wrought, and died of several Colours. The Women on board the Canoo wrapp'd themselves up in Pieces of Cotton-Linnen, or had Cloths of the Bigness of Handkerchiefs to cover their Nudities: There were found also on board the Canoo, wooden Swords, edg'd with Flints, and Hatchets made of Copper: They had also Bells, Plates, and Crucibles of Copper to melt their Metal in.

Their Provisions were Maize or *Indian* Corn, several Sorts of Roots, and Cocoa-Nuts, of which Chocolate is made.

The Admiral having taken out of the Canoo such Things as he lik'd, and given the *Indians* such *European* Goods in return, as were most acceptable to them, he dismiss'd the Canoo, and all the People in it, except one old Man he detained to inform him of the State of the neighbouring Continent, and to serve him for an Interpreter among the Natives: The *Indians*, who were already on board the Admiral, it seems, did not perfectly understand the Language of those of the Continent, that were taken in the Canoo; but learn'd, however, thus much from them, that North-west of the Province of *Honduras*, on which Coast the *Spaniards* lay at

Mexico
discovered.

at this Time, there liv'd a potent Prince (afterwards found to be the Emperor of *Mexico*) and that to the South-east of *Honduras* was a narrow Strait, that led to a vast Ocean (afterwards known by the Name of the *South Sea*) which the Admiral determined to search out, rightly conjecturing, that over that Sea he should find a Way to the Treasures and Spices of the *East-Indies*: But the Misfortune was, that the same Word which signified a Strait by Sea, might be, and really ought to have been, on that Occasion, interpreted an Isthmus by Land; and if he had understood these *Indians* right, they would have informed him, that there was a narrow Neck of Land, afterwards called the Isthmus of *Darien*, that separated the *North* and *South Seas*, or the *Atlantic* from the *Pacific Ocean*. This Mistake caused the Admiral an infinite deal of Trouble and Fatigue; for upon this Intelligence he returned to the Eastward, in order to find out the imaginary Strait, labouring against the Trade-winds and Currents, which constantly sit to the Westward in the *North Sea*. As he sail'd to the Eastward along the Coast of *Honduras*, his People frequently went on Shore and traffick'd with the Natives, exchanging Bells, glittering Beads and Toys, for thin Gold Plates; and here they were furnished with Water and fresh Provisions, such as

The Admiral under a great Mistake.

Venison,

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Venison, Geese, Hens, Fish, and Beans, like Kidney-beans. Most of these People went naked, only their Heads were covered with a Piece of Cotton-Linnen, as were also their Nudities; and some of them had short quilted Waistcoats of Cotton, which I find serv'd them for Armour, as well as Cloathing, and would defend them against a Stroke of their wooden Swords: Those that were naked, had the Figures of Beasts, Birds, Castles, &c. painted on their Arms and Bodies; and on Rejoicing-days, when they would be very fine, they painted their Faces red or black, or mark'd themselves with long Strokes of various Colours, which made them look very deformed in the Eyes of the *Spaniards*, how agreeable soever they might appear to one another: They adorn'd their Necks, Ears and Noses, with thin Gold-plates, and those hung at their Ears, stretched them to such a prodigious Size, that the Admiral gave the Coast of *Honduras* the Name of *De las Orejas*, or, The Country of Ears.

The Admiral sail'd along this Coast to the Eastward, till he came to the *Cape*, which he named *Gracias a Dios*; or, Thanks be to God; because he was no longer obliged to struggle against the Winds and Currents; for here the Coast bending to the South, he continued his Voyage without any difficulty, by the Assistance of the Easterly Trade-winds. The Admiral found the

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the People here very jealous, the *Spaniards* had some Design upon their Country, and came down armed, in great Numbers, with Bows and Arrows, Spears and Clubs, as if they intended to dispute their landing: But afterwards, finding the *Spaniards* only wanted to trade with them, they became more tractable, and exchanged Cotton-Linnen, and Plates of Gold for some *European* Toys. But, it seems, one of the Admiral's People taking out a Pen and Ink, and beginning to write down his Observations on the People and Country, the Natives immediately fled, and left all the Things behind them they had received of the *Spaniards*: From whence the Admiral conceived they thought they should be bewitched, if they conversed any longer with his Men. It is remarkable also, that here the *Spaniards* met with several dead Bodies embalm'd, and wrapp'd in Cotton Sheets, and so perfectly dry, that they had no manner of ill Scent. These were repositied in Tombs, in a large wooden House or Temple, and over each Tomb was laid a Board, with the Figures of Beasts carv'd on it; and on some, the Figures of the Persons deceased, adorned with Beads, Gold-plates, &c.

On the second of *November*, the Admiral continuing his Voyage to the Eastward, came to a large commodious Harbour, to which he gave the Name of *Porto Bello*,

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Bello, which it retains to this Day: it lies in the Province of *Terra-firma Proper*, in 10 Degrees North Latitude. Here he met with a great many *Indian Houses* well inhabited; and, on the Islands near the Shore, he found a great deal of *Indian Corn*, and other Refreshments, from whence he gave those Islands the Name of the *Bastimento's*, or, *The Islands of Provision*. Here the Admiral understanding that there were Gold Mines in the Province of *Veragua*, which lies to the Westward of *Terra-firma*, he returned again to that Coast, where he met with such stormy Weather, that it almost destroyed his Ships, and reduced his Men to Despair: But the Weather favouring him at length, he sent some Men a-shore in search of the Golden Mountains he had heard so much of, and they had the Satisfaction of gathering some Gold, at the Roots of Trees, and near the Surface of the Earth; which made the Admiral determine to settle a Colony in *Veragua*, and leave his Brother Governor of it, till he returned to *Spain* for further Reinforcements.

Accordingly he built a little Town and Fort, in which he left his Brother, and a Garrison of 80 Men, supplying them with Arms, Ammunition, and Provisions: But apprehending the Friendship of the Natives was not to be depended on; before he set sail, he ordered his Brother to make the

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the Cacique or Prince of that Part of the Country, with his Family, and the principal Natives, Prisoners; which he did, and sent them on board the *Spanish* Ships: But the Cacique, and most of the Prisoners, jumping into the Sea, and making their Escapes, raised the whole Country upon the *Spaniards*; and killing some, and wounding others, oblig'd them to quit their new Settlement; and it was with a great deal of difficulty that the rest escap'd to their Ships, one of which was so eaten up with Worms, that they were obliged to leave her behind. After this unfortunate Rencontre, the Admiral set sail with the three remaining Ships, in a miserable shatter'd Condition, and arriv'd again at *Porto Bello*; where he was forced to leave another of his Ships, she was so disabled by the tempestuous Weather they had on this Coast, or the Worm. From *Porto Bello*, he directed his Course North, till he made the great Island of *Cuba*, and on *Midsummer-day* they arrived at *Jamaica*, their Ships so leaky, that they found it almost impossible to keep them above Water till they got to shore; Whereupon they run them both a-ground in a small Creek close together, about a Musket-shot from Land, where they supported and shor'd up the Ships with Timber, and liv'd on board them above a Year, trafficking with the Country People for Provisions; but they

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they did not care to lie on shore for fear of being surprized and destroyed by the Natives, if any Quarrel should happen between them and the *Spaniards*.

In the mean time, the Admiral sent over some of his Crew to *Hispaniola*, in open Canoes, to get Ships to carry him and his Company off. This was a very hazardous Enterprize; for these Canoes, which are only small Boats made out of the Trunks of Trees, were to pass the Ocean about fifty Leagues, and are in danger of being overset in every little Storm. However, they arriv'd safe at *Hispaniola*; but the Governor, who was an Enemy to the Admiral, delay'd sending Ships so long, that his People mutinied, and one half of them left him, and went on shore in the Island, where they committed great Outrages, till the Admiral fought them, and reduced them to their Duty by Force, many of the *Spaniards* being killed on both Sides in the Engagement. At length, the Admiral's People having bought and fitted out a Ship, at his Charge, in the Island of *Hispaniola* (in which they had no Assistance from the Governor) they came back to *Jamaica*, and brought the Admiral off, after he had spent above a Year there, in great Distress, and lain most of the Time bed-ridden with the Gout. The Admiral arrived at *St. Domingo*, in *Hispaniola*, the 13th of *August*, 1504; and, having

ving settled his Affairs in this Island, where he had a good Estate, and Effects of Value, he returned to *Spain*, where his Catholick Majesty received him, in Appearance, very graciously ; but it seems was contriving, at the same time, to deprive him of most of the Advantages he had stipulated to allow him, on the Admiral's undertaking the Discovery of that new World : For his great Patroness Queen *Isabella* was now dead, and most of the Court envied him the Wealth and Honour he had acquired, how justly soever he merited them, and that chiefly, because he was a Foreigner. But, notwithstanding the strictest Scrutiny the Malice of his Enemies could make, it does not appear that any thing was fix'd upon him, that could fully his Character, unless it was his too great Zeal to serve the ungrateful *Spaniard*, and enlarge their Dominions, by bringing the innocent, inoffensive *Indians* under the Subjection of that cruel and haughty People. But he, as well as the rest of the *Popish* World, it seems, was then of Opinion, that his Holiness had the Disposal of all *Pagan* Countries, and could confer them on whom he pleased : Or, that all *Infidel* Nations ought of right to become Slaves to the *Christians*. These Notions he certainly went upon, or he could not with any Colour of Justice have subdued *Hispaniola*,
and

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and made the *Indians* of this and other Places Captives, who received him as a Friend, traffick'd with his People, and furnished them with whatever their respective Countries afforded.

If we consider, I say, that the *Spaniards* could have no right to invade the *Indians*, enslave them, or deprive them of their Country; even this memorable Enterprize of *Columbus* cannot be defended. However, in the Light he viewed Things, with all his Prejudices and Prepossessions about him; as he thought he was doing God good Service, by enlarging the Bounds of *Christianity*, and reducing the Nations of this new World, to submit to the Gospel, or, which he took to be the same thing, to the Pope and his Catholick Majesty; it must be admitted he intended well, tho' all he did was not strictly just.

And what was the End of all this mighty Discovery in regard to himself? He was indeed, at first, highly caress'd and honoured, his Family ennobled, and vastly enrich'd: But if we consider the infinite Hazards and Labours he underwent, even in his old Age, and that he saw himself at last about to be deprived of the Reward of so many Years Toil and Perplexity; we cannot wonder it had an Effect upon his Health, which the numerous Hardships he had suffered had already greatly impaired: It is rather to be admired

admired he struggled so long under a Train of Calamities, of which the Ingratitude of the *Spaniards* was not the least. This, it appears, sat heavy upon him; and being retired to the City of *Valadolid*, we find he there left this Life for a better, on the 20th of *May*, 1566; dying, 'tis said, with abundance of Resignation, under a Sense, no doubt, that the most important Services, attended by the most surprising Success, were thrown away upon an ungrateful Nation: He saw they could not procure him a Continuance of the Fame he had so justly acquired, or a Moment's Repose in his old Age; and that there was no Rest, or real Felicity, to be found on this Side the Grave.

After his Death, indeed, his Catholick Majesty was so just to this great Man, as to bury him magnificently in the Cathedral of *Seville*, and to erect a Tomb to his Memory, with this Inscription: THAT COLUMBUS HAD GIVEN A NEW WORLD TO CASTILE AND LEON.

From this Relation it appears, that the Admiral in Person discovered the *Lucayo's* or *Bahama* Islands, the great Islands of *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*, and *Porto Rico*, with several of the *Caribbee* Islands; that he afterwards discovered the Countries of *Paria*, and *Guiana*, near the Mouth of the River *Oroonoko*, in *South America*, and the Island of *Trinity*, which lies in 10 De-
gress

gress North Latitude, before the Mouth of the said River *Oroonoko*; that he also discovered *Yucatana*, Province of *Mexico*, the Bay of *Honduras*, and all that Coast which runs South-east from thence, as far as *Porto Bello*, and the River or Gulph of *Darien*, and received some Intelligence of that vast Ocean, which has since obtained the Name of the *South-Sea*: So that all those, who afterwards extended the Discoveries of the *Spaniards* in the new World, only improved what the great *Columbus* had begun; and yet we find one of them (*viz.*) *Americus Vesputius*, of whom I am to treat in the next place, had the good Fortune to give his Name to that vast Continent.

*Americus
Vesputius*
the second
Disco-
verer.

The Enemies of *Columbus* having given the Court of *Spain* an ill Opinion of him, it appears they employed *Americus Vesputius*, a *Florentine*, in the Year 1497, to improve and enlarge the Discoveries begun by that great Man; but however fortunate this Gentleman might be in making Discoveries, he gives the lamest Account of them, of any Man that ever was employed in such an Undertaking. He says, he touched at the *Canaries* in this Voyage, and, having sailed a thousand Leagues to the Westward, arrived at a Country situated in 16 Degrees of North Latitude, which must be some of the *Caribbee* Islands: He sailed near nine hundred Leagues further
Westward

Westward afterwards, and came to a Country under the Tropic of *Cancer*, which, by the Latitude and Distance to the Westward, seems to be Part of *Mexico*. He did not attempt to make Settlements any where, and probably was not provided for it, but satisfied himself with having traffick'd with some of the *Indians* for Trifles, and fought with others, whose Arms were like those *Columbus* met with in other Places.

He made another Voyage in the Service of the *Spaniard*, the following Year 1498; and, sailing to the South-west, pass'd the Equator, and came to a Country in five Degrees of South Latitude; which, in all likelihood, was *Surinam*, in the Province of *Guiana*. Here he traded with the Natives for Pearls, and some Gold, which they exchanged for Glass and Toys, and returned home by *Antegoa*, one of the *Leeward* Islands.

Emanuel, King of *Portugal*, afterwards entertained *Americus Vesputius* in his Service; and, in *May* 1501, he sail'd from *Lisbon* with three Ships; and, coming again upon the Eastern Continent of *America*, in five Degrees of South Latitude, he sail'd afterwards along that Coast to the Southward, till he came into fifty-two Degrees of South Latitude, when the cold and tempestuous Weather obliged him to return home. Thus having discovered a Continent in the new World, little infe-

M

rior,

rior, in Dimensions, to that of the old, he was so happy as to give his Name to the whole, which, from him, has ever since gone under the Name of *America*, tho' he never attempted to make one Settlement in it, either for the King of *Spain*, or the King of *Portugal*, who employed him in these Discoveries; while *Columbus*, who first went in search of this Continent, and made such Acquisitions in it for the *Spaniard*, did not give his Name to one single Place. But 'tis observable, that both these enterprizing Gentlemen were *Italians*; and, as their Ancestors had formerly the Honour of subduing the greatest part of the old World; so these traced out the Way to the new, and gave the *Spaniards* an Opportunity of conquering the greatest part of this new World.

Cabot's
Discoveries.

The next, or rather a Cotemporary Discoverer with *Americus Vesputius*, was *Cabot*, an *Italian* also, or at least of *Italian* Extraction; for some affirm, he was born at *Bristol* in *England* of *Genoese* Parents. This Gentleman was employed by King *Henry VII.* to find out a Passage to *China*, and the *East-Indies*, by the North-west; and accordingly he set out from *England*, in the Year 1498, and sail'd along the Continent of *America*, to 67 Degrees of Northern Latitude; but his Men murmuring at the Hardships they underwent in that cold Climate, he returned home, bringing with him only some

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some of the savage Natives of those frozen Regions. (The same *Cabot*, or his Son, 'tis said, first attempted the finding a Way to *China* by the North-east, and in that Voyage discovered the Way to *Archangel* in *Muscovy* by the North Cape.) But to return to the West.

Thus have we seen that vast Continent of *America*, discovered (from 67 Degrees North Latitude to 52 South) within the Compass of about ten Years; but the *Spaniards* did not penetrate far into the inland Country, till some Years afterwards.

The next considerable Discoverer, was *Vasco Nunnes de Balboa*, who prosecuting what had been begun by *Columbus*, made an entire Conquest of *Cuba*, and found it to be an Island; then he sail'd to the River of *Darien*, on the Isthmus of *America*, where *Columbus* had attempted to make a Settlement, but was driven from it. Here *Vasco* built a Fort and Town, which he named *Sancta Maria del Antigua*, or *Old St. Mary's*; and cultivating a Correspondence with the Caciques, or petty Kings thereabouts, they shew'd him the Way to the *South Sea*, over those vast Mountains that run along the middle of the Isthmus, parallel to the *North* and *South Seas*; and tho' it was not more than three or fourscore Miles from the one Sea to the other, yet their Way lay over such craggy Precipices, and was incumber'd with such thick Woods, that they travell'd 25 Days before they came

The Discoveries of *Vasco Nunnes de Balboa*

in the following Account

in Sight of the *South Sea*: And there *Vasco*, upon the highest Mountain, erected Crosses, and took Possession of the Country for their Catholick Majesties; as he did soon after of the *South Sea* itself, and of all its Coasts and Bays for the Crowns of *Castile* and *Leon*, in the Year 1513: He afterwards erected the Fortress of *Panama* on the *South Sea*, and fitted out a Fleet to make further Discoveries on that Ocean; for which Services the Court of *Spain* made him Governor of *Cuba* and of *Panama*, and Admiral of the *South Seas*. But, the King of *Spain* sending over *Pedrarias*, Viceroy of *Darien* and the Continent, with a superior Command to that of *Vasco Nunnes*, the Viceroy took an Opportunity to pick a Quarrel with *Vasco*, and caus'd him to be put to Death under a Colour of Law.

*Fernando
Cortez's*
Discove-
ries and
Conquests.
Magellan's
Discove-
ries.

The next great Discoverer and Conqueror, was *Fernando Cortez*, who began the Conquest of *Mexico* in the Year 1518; of which I shall give a particular Account in this Work.

The famous *Magellan*, in 1520, discovered the Straits (to which he gave his Name) in *South America*; from whence he sail'd thro' the *South Sea* to the *East-Indies*, being the first Commander that attempted that Passage: His Ship surrounded the Globe, and returned safe home, tho' he had the Misfortune to be kill'd in an Island of the *East-Indies*: But I refer the Reader to the former Volumes of *Modern History* for a full Account of this first Voyage round the Globe.

*Pizarro
and Alma-
gro, their*
Discove-
ries and
Conquests.

The last Discoverers I shall mention in this Introduction, are *Francis Pizarro*, *Don Diego de Almagro*, and *Fernando de Luque*, who, in Confederacy or Partnership, undertook the Discovery of *Peru*, from *Panama* by Sea, in the Year 1525, and afterwards made a Conquest of great part of that extensive Empire: Of all which Discoveries and Conquests, the Reader will meet with a particular Account in the following History.



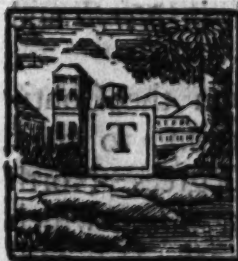
THE PRESENT STATE

OF

AMERICA in general.

CHAP. I.

Of the Name, and several grand Divisions of America.



THE Natives of this new America. World had no general Name for their Country when the Spaniards arriv'd amongst 'em in the 15th Century; but the most considerable Empire in North America, went under

The Name.

the Name of *Mexico*, and that in the South, under the Name of *Peru*. *Americus Vespusius*, who discover'd the eastern Coast of *South America*, had the Honour first of communicating his Name to the whole Continent, which it retains to this Day, as has been observ'd already in the Introduction.

America.

America
subject to
four Euro-
pean
Princes.

The Spa-
nish Domi-
nions in
America.

As the greatest and best Part of *America* is now under the Dominion of four *European* Monarchs; namely, of the Kings of *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Great-Britain* and *France*, I shall throw the whole into four grand Divisions, and treat of them as subject to one or other of these four Princes; tho' it must be confess'd, many Nations of the inland *Indians* still retain their original Freedom, and own no Subjection to any foreign Power: and there are some small Settlements in *America* belonging to the *Dutch*, the *Dane*, and other *European* Powers; but these will be taken Notice of, and describ'd in treating of those Countries that lie contiguous to one or the other of the abovesaid four grand Divisions respectively. And first, I shall describe the *Spanish* Dominions in *America*, which comprehend, 1. *Old Mexico*, or *New Spain*; 2. *New Mexico*; and 3. *Florida* (in *North America*;) 4. *Terra Firma*; 5. *Peru*; 6. *Cbili*; 7. *Patagonia*, or *The Terra Magellenica*; 8. *Paraguay*, or *La Plata*; 9. the Country of the *Amazons*; and 10. the Islands belonging to *Spain*, both in *North* and *South America*.

The *Spanish* Territories upon the Continent lie contiguous, and, according to their Accounts, extend from 45 Degrees North Latitude to the Straits of *Magellan*, which lie in 54 Degrees of South Latitude, and, consequently, take up 99 Degrees of Latitude, which, allowing 70 Miles to a Degree, makes the Length near seven thousand Miles; but the Breadth is very unequal, and, in many Places, very uncertain: However, thus much is certain, that in some Parts, the *Spanish America* is near fifteen hundred Miles broad; and in others, not one hundred Miles broad.

2. The

2. The second grand Division of *America* is that under the Dominion of *Portugal*, which consists of the Country of *Brasil*, extending from the Mouth of the River *Amazon*, under the Equator, to the Mouth of the River *La Plata*, which lies in 35 Degrees of South Latitude; being two thousand four hundred Miles and upwards; If we measure in a direct Line, from North to South; but if we take in the winding of the Shores, *Brasil* will be found to have a Sea Coast of near four thousand Miles, tho' it is not two hundred Miles broad in many Places. Neither the *Spanish* or *Portuguese America* extend to any great Distance from the Sea Coast; tho' these Powers lay Claim to the whole Continent of *South America*. The Natives, who live two or three hundred Miles from the Sea Coast, scarce own any Subjection to either of them.

America
The Dom-
inions of
Portugal.

3. The third grand Division of *America* is that under the Dominion of the King of *Great Britain*; which lies along the Eastern Coast of *North America*, from 31 Degrees to 51 North Latitude, comprehending 1. *Carolina* (in which *Georgia* is included;) 2. *Virginia*; 3. *Maryland*; 4. *Pensilvania*; 5. *New Jersey*; 6. *New York*; 7. *New England*; 8. *New Scotland* and *New Britain*; 9. the Islands belonging to *Great Britain*; and lastly, *Hudson's Bay*, which lies most to the Northward of any of our Settlements, and is detach'd from the rest.

The
British
Dominion
there.

The *British* Dominions, that lie contiguous on the Continent, run from the South-West to the North-East, and are upwards of fifteen hundred Miles in Length, but in Breadth scarce two hundred in many Places.

4. The fourth grand Division of *America*

America. is that which the *French* pretend is subject to them; and, according to their Maps, extends from the North Side of the Gulph of *Mexico* or *Florida*, to the North of *Canada*, that is, from the Latitude of 28 to 52 Degrees and upwards of Northern Latitude; so that they would have us believe, their Territories extend near seventeen hundred Miles in Length from North to South, and are little less in Breadth from East to West, for their Maps lay them down between the *British* Dominions on the East, and *New Mexico* on the West, comprehending most part of *Florida* and *Canada*, to which their Geographers have given the Name of *Louisiana* and *New France*.

The
Spaniards
and Eng-
lish more
Right to
Florida
than the
French.

But *Florida* and *Canada*, may with much more Propriety be assigned to the *Spaniards* and the *English*, than to the *French*; for the *Spaniards* first discovered and made Settlements in *South Florida*, some of which they possess at this Day, as they do the entire West Side of *Florida* and *Canada*: The *English*, on the other hand, have been long possess'd of *Virginia* and *Carolina*, which were originally part of *Florida*, and of several Places in *Canada*; while the *French* have only two or three little Settlements on the Gulph of *Florida* or *Mexico*, near the Mouth of the River *Mississippi*, to entitle them to *Florida*; and a Man may travel some hundreds of Miles, both in *Florida* and *Canada*, without meeting with a *French* Settlement, or even with a single *Frenchman*. To say the Truth, very few of the *Indians* of *Florida* or *Canada* are yet subject to any *European* Power; and a very small part of their Country the Property of any Foreigner. The only just and legal way of becoming Proprietors of any part of
either,

either, is by Treaty with the Natives, and giving them what they esteem a valuable Consideration for it; as our Adventurers in *Georgia* actually do for whatever they intend to plant or cultivate.

We are extremely weak, in assigning this fine Country, containing a Square of 1500 Miles of a Side, to *France*, which lies on the back of all the *British* Settlements; and that for no other Reason, than that the *French* have Assurance enough to lay Claim to it, especially since this Claim, if it be allow'd, must for ever exclude us from extending our Settlements to the Westward: I hope, therefore, our *British* Geographers will be commanded by their Superiors, to blot *Louisiana* and *New France* out of their Maps, and restore the primitive Names of *Florida* and *Canada* to those Countries; and that they shall not be suffer'd stupidly to follow the *French* Geography, and give that People a Colour for their Encroachments on the *British* Plantations.

The Maps of these Countries ought to be corrected.

France already looks upon the great Rivers of *Mississippi* and *St. Laurence* as her own, and will, no doubt, if ever it is in her Power, swallow up all those Countries that border upon them, or which lie between the Mouths of those two Rivers, in which Space lie most of the *British* Dominions on the Continent of *America*. But I shall further explain the dangerous Consequences of permitting such an Alteration in our Maps, when I come to treat of *Florida* and *Canada*, and the *English* Dominions that lie contiguous to those Countries: In the mean time, I shall apply myself to enquire into the present State of the *Spanish* Territories in *America*, describing the several Subdivisions of that Empire; and first treat of that of *Mexico*, or *New Spain*.



CHAP. H.

The Present State of Mexico.

*Describing the Situation and Extent of Mexico,
or New Spain; and the Face of the Country.*

Mexico.

The Situation
and
Extent of
Mexico.



MEXICO is bounded by *New Mexico* or *Granada*, and *Florida* on the North; by the *Gulph of Mexico*, and the *North Sea*, on the North-East; by *Terra Firma Proper*, in *South America*, on the South-East; and by the *Pacifick Ocean*, or *South Sea*, on the South-West; and lies between 7 Degrees and 28 Degrees of North Latitude; and between the 83d and the 116th Degrees of Western Longitude from the Meridian of *London*, stretching along the *South Sea* two thousand Miles and upwards; and on the *North Sea*, and the *Gulph of Mexico*, more than fifteen hundred Miles; but the Breadth is very unequal; for upon the Confines of *New Mexico*, where it extends from the *Gulph of California* on the West, to *Florida* on the East, it is upwards of six hundred Miles broad; and in the Province of *Veragua*, from the *North Sea* on the North-East, to the *South Sea* on the South-West, being the narrowest Part of the *Isthmus*, it is very little more than sixty Miles broad; and the Form is so irregular, that it can only be compre-

comprehended by a View of the Map, which Mexico is preparing to be bound up with this Work.

Mexico is very much encumber'd with Mountains, which are, for the most part, cover'd with Woods; but there are a

Chain of Hills higher than usual, that run almost the whole Length of it, from the South-East to the North-West: From these we descend to other Hills, on either Side considerably lower; and between the Hills, are many fine fruitful Valleys, but scarce any

Plains of a considerable Extent. Which way soever we turn our Eyes, the Prospect is bounded by Hills and Woods, till we come near the North, or South Seas: But the

Lands, near the Sea Coast, especially on the North Sea, are so flat and low, that they lie under Water great part of the rainy Season; and upon these Morasses and Bogs, are

Thickets of *Bambou* Canes, Mangroves, Thorns and Briars, so closely mix'd and interwoven, that it is almost impossible to penetrate them, without cutting a Way through with a Hatcher. There are, indeed, some sandy Bays, where it is tolerable landing; but there is much more of the Mangrove Land, where a Man must wade up to the middle in Mud, before he can get to the dry Ground. Beyond the Mangroves, indeed, we meet with fine Savannas or Meadows, lying between little rising Hills; and on the North-West Coast of the South Sea, near the Gulph of *California*, the Mountains come almost close to the Shore; and there is none of those Morasses or Mangrove Lands, that we find in other Places.

And it is very remarkable, that the Mountains on the West Side of Mexico, are most of them

Mexico.

Vulcanos
and Earth-
quakes.

them Vulcanos, from whence Fire and Smoke are perpetually issuing; and this is supposed to be the Occasion of those frequent Earth-quakes that happen on this Coast, in which whole Towns are sometimes buried.

Woods.

Upon these Mountains there is a great Variety of fine, large Timber, and little or no Underwood: A Man may ride through them without any Difficulty; whereas the Woods upon the Coast in the flat Country, are so full of Bushes and Underwood, that there is scarce any breaking through them, as has been observ'd already.



C H A P.



CHAP. III.

Of the Seas, Gulphs, or Bays, Capes, Lakes, Rivers and Springs, in Mexico.



THE Seas of *Mexico* are, either *Mexico*. the Gulph of *Mexico*, and the *North Sea*, on the North-East, The Seas or the *Pacific Ocean*, on the of *Mexico*. South-West.

In the Gulph of *Mexico*, lies the famous Bay of *Campeachy*, between 18 and 20 Degrees North Latitude, where the greatest Quantities of Logwood are cut. And between *Yucatan* and *Honduras*, is another great Bay, call'd the Gulph of *Honduras*, lying between the 15th and 18th Degree of North Latitude. The chief Capes in these Seas, are, 1. *Cape Condecedo*; and 2. *Cape Catorb*. The first the North-West, and the other the North-East Point of *Yucatan*; 3. *Cape Honduras*; 4. *Cape Cameron*, on the North of the Province of *Honduras*; and 5. *Cape Gratia Dios*, being the North-East Point, a Promontory of the same Province. In the *Pacific Ocean*, are the Gulph of *Salinas*, or *Nicoya*, in 10 Degrees North Latitude; and the Gulph of *Amapalla*, in 12 Degrees North Latitude; and the Capes are, *Cape Blanco*, in 9 Degrees North Latitude, and *Cape Corientes*, in 20 Degrees North Latitude.

The chief Bays and Gulphs on the North-Side.

Cape Condecedo.
Cape Catorb.
Cape Honduras.
Cape Cameron.
Cape Gratia Dios.
Gulphs on the South Side.
Cape Blanco.
Cape Corientes.

Mexico.
Vulcanos
and Earth-
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C H A P.



C H A P. III.

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The chief Bays and Gulphs on the North-Side.

Cape Concededo.
Cape Catorb.
Cape Honduras.
Cape Cameron.
Cape Gratia Dios.
Gulphs on the South Side.
Cape Blanco.
Cape Corientes.

Mexico.

Lake of
Nicaragua.Lake of
Mexico.Chief
Rivers.
The North
River.Panuco
River.Alvarado
River.Tobasco
River.

Xagua.

Yara
River.

The chief Lakes are, that of *Nicaragua*, in the Province of the same Name, which has a Communication with the *North Sea*, by the River of *Nicaragua*; and the other way extends almost to the *South Sea*: And 2. the Lake of *Mexico*, in which the Metropolis stands. These, and the rest of the Lakes with which this Country abounds, will be more particularly describ'd in treating of the respective Provinces.

The principal Rivers in *Mexico* are, 1. the *North River*, which rises in *New Mexico*; and, after running a very long Course to the South-East, falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*, in 26 Degrees North Latitude.

2. The River of *Panuco*, or *Tompeque*, which rises very far within the Land, and running Eastward, falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*, in 23 Degrees, 50 Minutes, North Latitude.

3. The River *Alvarado*, composed of three Rivers, which, rising in different parts of the Country, unite their Streams, and fall into the Gulph of *Mexico*, in 19 Degrees North Latitude, six Leagues to the Eastward of *Vera Cruz*.

4. *Tobasco River*, which rising not far from the *South Sea*, runs to the North-East, and falls into the Bay of *Campeachy*, in 19 Degrees North Latitude to the Eastward of *Tobasco River*.

5. The River *Xagua*, which rises in the Province of *Honduras*, and, taking its Course to the North-East, falls into the *North Sea*, near Cape *Gratia Dios*, in 14 Degrees, odd Minutes, North Latitude. And

6. The River *Yara*, which rising in the Province of *Nicaragua*, to the Northward of the

the Lake of that Name, runs East, and falls ^{Mexico.} into the *North Sea*, in 13 Degrees North Latitude. These Rivers are moderately large, and would be navigable, some of them, for great Ships, if they were not choak'd up with Bars of Sand at their Entrance. However, Boats and small Vessels may enter them, and frequently do sail up them many Miles.

There are a multitude of other Rivers, which, rising in the neighbouring Hills, fall into the Gulph of *Mexico*, and the *North Sea*; especially during the rainy Season. These over-flow all the low Lands; but when fair Weather returns, they are dried up, and scarce any fresh Water is to be met with, in many places.

The chief Rivers of *Mexico* which fall into the *South Sea*, are, 1. *Rosario*, which runs from East ^{Rosario River.} to West, and falls into the *South Sea*, in 22 Degrees 51 Minutes South Latitude: Some gold Mines lying within two or three Leagues of this River, the Sands of it are rich in Gold.

2. The River *Teguantipique*, which rises ^{Teguantipique.} not far from the *North Sea*, and running Westward, falls into the *South Sea* in 15 Degrees, odd Minutes, North Latitude, near a Town of the same Name.

3. The River *Lempa*, said to be the largest ^{Lempa River.} in this Country, runs from North to South, and falls into the *South Sea* in 13 Degrees, odd Minutes, North Latitude, near the Town of *Trinidad*.

As to hot Baths and medicinal Springs, *Mexico* abounds with them; especially those places which lie near the burning Mountains: And, in the dry Season, the Waters of many of their Lakes and Rivers are salt or brackish; but their Waters will be treated of more particularly in the respective Provinces where they lie.

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CHAP. IV.

Of the Winds and Tides, the Temperature of the Air, and Seasons of Mexico.

Mexico.

Winds of Mexico.

Trade Winds.



Winds under the Equator.

Munsoons.
Sea and Land Breezes.

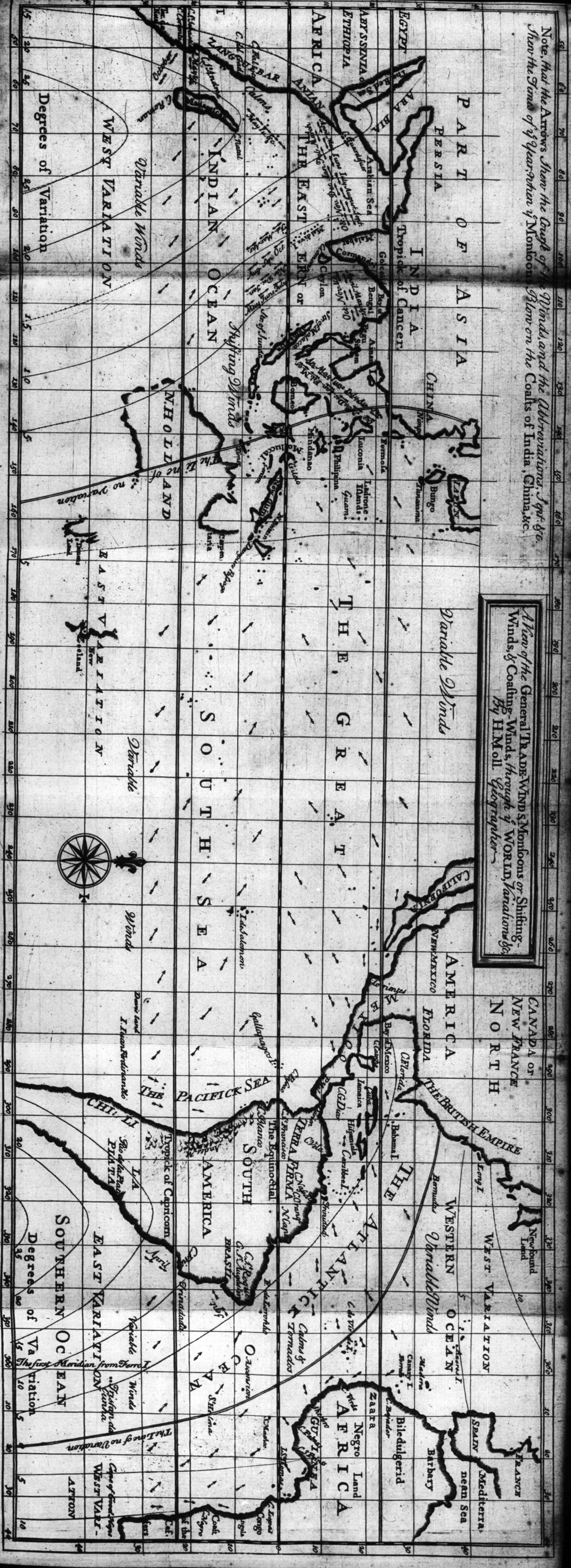
N every Ocean, whether the Indian, Atlantic, or Pacific Ocean, the Wind continually blows from East to West, between the Latitudes of 30 North and South (a little Distance from Land;) only to the Northward of the Equator, it inclines North-East, and to the Southward of the Equator, South-East; to which Rule there is only this Exception, That under the Line, and for two or three Degrees on each side, the Winds are variable, and perpetually changing; and sometimes there is so little Wind, and such Calms, under the Line, that a Ship shall not sail a League in a Month's Time.

However, upon every Coast, almost, within the Latitude of 30 North or South, there are other periodical Winds and Storms that return at certain Seasons of the Year, call'd *Munsoons*: and there are, during the fair Season, Land and Sea Breezes, which constantly take their Turns at stated Hours every Day, and particularly upon the North and South Coast of Mexico, the Country I am now describing,

The

Note, that the Arrows, shew the Course of the Winds, and the Abbreviations, 1st pt. &c. shew the Time of Year, when y^e Monsoon blows on the Coasts of India, China, &c.

A View of the General Trade Wind, Monsoons or Shifting Winds, & Coasting Winds, through y^e World, Variations &c. By H. Moll, Geographer.



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The Land Breezes begin here late in the *Mexico*. Evening, and blow till six or seven the next Morning, when they die away insensibly; and from that Time, till near Noon, it is generally calm: About Noon, the Sea Breeze rises, and refreshes the Inhabitants, who would, otherwise, faint with Heat; the Forenoon, therefore, is much the hottest time of the Day within the Tropics. But the Land Winds are not hot in *Mexico*, as they are in the *East-Indies*, where they blow over a long Tract of burning Sand: On the contrary, 'tis observ'd, That the Winds, which blow from the Mountains in the middle of this Country, are colder than those that come from the Sea.

There are some Hours difference on different Coasts, as to the rising of the Sea and Land Breezes. In some places, the Sea Breezes begin at nine or ten o' Clock, or at eleven at farthest; but at others, they do not set in till one in the Afternoon: In like manner, the Land Breezes begin some Hours before Midnight on some Coasts; and not till after Midnight on others. And it is observ'd, That these Sea and Land Breezes very seldom blow directly on or off the Shore, but obliquely; as where the Coast runs North and South, these Winds blow from the North-West or North-East; and in South Latitude, from the South-West or South-East: And Mr. *Dampier*, I perceive, takes the Sea Breezes to be nothing else but the true Trade-Wind, which always blows from the North-East or the South-East, or pretty near those Points; and that these Winds only cease blowing upon the Coast for about twelve Hours every Night, when the Land Wind prevails: For he observes, That such Promontories and head Lands as run far out

Mexico. out into the Sea, have much more of the Sea Breeze than Bays and Creeks, which are almost surrounded by the Land; and, consequently, such parts of the Coast are much hotter than those that lie open to the Ocean.

Storms.

The rainy Season, which begins usually in *May*, and lasts till *September*, is introduced with Thunder and Lightening, Tornadoes and Hurricanes, when the Wind blows almost from every Point of the Compass; but the worst Weather is in *June* and *July*. *Dampier* informs us also, that there are strong North Winds that blow in the Gulph of *Mexico*, and in the Bays of *Campeachy* and *Honduras*, between the Months of *October* and *March*, about the Full and Change of the Moon, and are most violent in *December* and *January*.

Tides.

As to Tides, *Dampier* observes, there are no Places in the Ocean without them; but that they rise highest, and run strongest in narrow Channels, Bays and Creeks, or up the Mouths of Rivers; and that on such Coasts, as have no Bays or Rivers, the Tides are but weak, and scarce perceptible: That in the Bay of *Campeachy*, in the Gulph of *Mexico*, the Tide runs very strong, but does not rise more than six or seven Foot: On the other hand, in the Gulph of *St. Michael's*, on the Coast of the *South Sea*, he observ'd the Tides rose eighteen or twenty Foot, while, in small Islands at a distance from the Continent, it scarce rises a Foot and half.

Wet and dry Seasons.

It is observ'd, that as the Sun approaches either of the Tropics, it carries wet Weather so far with it; and when it is farthest from either Tropic, then the Weather is fair under that Tropic. On the contrary, those People who live without the Tropics, have their

their fair Weather when the Sun is nearest them, and wet Weather when it is at the greatest Distance from them. Mexico.

In *Mexico*, their rainy Season begins in *April* or *May*, and lasts till *September*, and sometimes longer. It begins, as has been observ'd, with Tornadoses or Tempests, first one in a Day, afterwards more, encreasing till the Month of *June*, and then it rains for two Months every Day, great part of the four and twenty Hours; but less in the Morning and in the Day-time, than in the Night: Those, therefore, that are oblig'd to travel during this Season, set out early in the Morning, that they may come to an End of their Journey before the Rain begins. And it is observ'd, that the Rains continue much longer in Bays upon the Sea-Coasts, and particularly in the Bays of *Campeachy* and *Honduras*, than on Capes and head Lands and higher up in the Country. In some Bays, 'tis said, the rainy Season continues near two-thirds of the Year.

These Rains which overflow all the flat Country; the Land and Sea Breezes that blow alternately, and their numerous Lakes, render the Air cool, and make even the *Torrid Zone* habitable and pleasant; the Heats whereof would otherwise have been as insupportable as the Ancients imagin'd them. The coolest part of the Year is in the Months of *July* and *August*, when the low Lands lie under Water: Then the Natives really complain of Cold, Morning and Evening, as they do in the succeeding Months till *February*; tho' the Weather then seems very moderate to a *European* Constitution. The tops of the highest Mountains are indeed sometimes very cold, being cover'd with Snow even in 16 or 18 Degrees

Mexico. Degrees of North Latitude ; but here are very few Towns. The People chuse to reside on those Eminences between the Mountains and the flat Country, where the Air is most agreeable, and the Earth most fruitful. The hottest time of the Year is in *February, March* and the beginning of *April*, for then the Sun is seldom obscur'd by Clouds, the Waters are every where dry'd up, and it is very difficult then to meet with fresh Water in some Places.

Seed Time
and Har-
vest.

The chief Season for sowing or rather planting their *Indian Corn*, tho' it will grow and come to Maturity at any time almost, is in *May* and *June* (the beginning of the rainy Season) and they reap it in *October*, when the Rains are over ; their Trees are ever green, and their Fruits blossom and ripen almost all the Year round : But I shall enlarge on this Article, when I come to treat of their Plants, Corn and Husbandry.





CHAP. V.

Of the Provinces Mexico is divided into, its Subdivisions, and chief Towns, with their publick and private Buildings and Furniture.



MEXICO, or New Spain, is divided into three Audiences, viz. 1. the Audience of Guadalajara, or New Galicia; 2. the Audience of Mexico; and 3. the Audience of Guatimala.

Mexico.
Provinces.

The Audience of Guadalajara, or Galicia, is bounded by New Mexico on the North-West, by the Gulph of Mexico on the East, by the Audience of Mexico on the South-East, and by the South Sea and the Gulph of California on the South-West, being 800 Miles in Length, and generally 500 or 600 Miles broad, and is subdivided into the following seven Provinces; viz. 1. Guadalajara Proper; 2. Zacatecas; 3. New Biscay; 4. Cinoioa; 5. Culiacan; 6. Chametlan; and 7. Xalisco.

Guadala-
jara
Audience.

Subdivi-
ons of it.

1. The Province of Guadalajara Proper is bounded by New Mexico towards the North, by Mexico Audience on the South-East, and by the Pacific Ocean on the West. It is a plentiful Country, and hath several Silver Mines in it. The chief Town is Guadalajara, situated on a River of the same Name, in 20 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, 108

Guadala-
jara
Proper.

Guadala-
jara City.

Mexico. Degrees West of *London*. It is the Capital of the whole Audience, the Seat of their Courts of Justice, and a Bishop's See. There are several Churches in it besides the Cathedral, and some Monasteries and Nunneries; but I meet with no further Description of this Place.

Zacatecas 2. The Province of *Zacatecas*, bounded by
Province. *New Biscay* on the North, by *Mexico Proper* and *Panuco* on the East, by *Guadalajara* on the South, and by *Chamellan* and *Culiacan* on the West. The chief Towns whereof are, 1.

Zacatecas *Zacatecas*, situated forty Leagues North of
Town. *Guadalajara*, and about forescore North-West of the City of *Mexico*. The Town consists of five or six hundred Houses, and the *Spaniards* keep a good Garrison in it to defend

Nombre de their Silver Mines. 2. *Nombre de Dios*, a
Dios large, populous Town, situated in 25 Degrees
Town. North Latitude, and 109 Degrees West of
Durango. *London*. And 3. *Durango*, situated at the Conflux of several Rivers 8 Leagues North-West of *Nombre de Dios*.

The East Part of this Province has plenty of Corn and Fruit, and the West is no less famous for its Silver Mines.

New 3 The Province of *New Biscay*, bounded
Biscay by *New Mexico* on the North, by part of
Province. *Florida* and *Panuco* on the East, by *Zacatecas* on the South, and by *Culiacan* on the West.

The chief Towns whereof are, 1. *St. Barbara*,
St. Barbara situated in 26 Degrees North Latitude, 108
Town. Degrees West of *London*; and 2. *St. John's*,
St. John's situated 70 Miles North of *St. Barbara*.
Town.

This Province also is rich in Silver Mines.

Cinoloa 4. The Province of *Cinoloa* bounded by
Province. *New Mexico* on the North-East and the North-West, by *Culiacan* on the South-East, and by the Gulph of *California* on the South-West:

West: The chief Town whereof, is *Cinoloa*, Mexico. situated in 26 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, and 112 Degrees West Longitude: In this Province, are rich Pasture Grounds well water'd, with the Rivulets that fall from the Mountains, and here is great Plenty of Cotton.

Cinoloa
Town.

5. The Province of *Culiacan* bounded by *Culiacan* *New Biscay*, and *Zacatecas* on the North-East; by *Cinoloa* on the North-West; by *Chametlan* on the South-East; and by the Gulph of *California*, on the South-West: The chief Town whereof, is *Culiacan*; situated in 24 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, and in 112 Degrees of West Longitude.

Province.

Culiacan
Town.

6. The Province of *Chametlan* bounded by *Zacatecas* on the North-East; by *Culiacan* on the North-West; by *Xalisco*, and *Guadalajara* on the South-East; and by the *South Sea*, on the South-West: The chief Town whereof, is *St. Sebastian*, situated on a River of the same Name, about forty Miles to the Eastward of the *South Sea*, in 23 Degrees of North Latitude.

Chametlan
Province.

St. Sebastian
Town.

This Province hath both Gold and Silver Mines in it.

7. The Province of *Xalisco* is bounded by *Guadalajara*, and *Chametlan* on the North; by *Mecboacan* on the East; and by the *South Sea* on the South, and West: The chief

Xalisco
Province.

Towns whereof are, 1. *Xalisco*, situated near the *South Sea*, in 20 Degrees South Latitude, West Longitude 111; 2. *Compostella*, situated also near the *South Sea*, about 20 Leagues to the Northward of *Xalisco*, a rich Town lying in the Neighbourhood of several Silver Mines; 3. *Santa Pecaque*, where the Spaniards

Xalisco
Town.

Compostella
Town.

Santa Pecaque
Town.

Mexico. ards of *Compostella* keep a great many hundreds of Slaves, that work in their Silver Mines. This Town, *Dampier* relates, the Buccaneers (among whom he served) plunder'd in the Year 1686; but being attack'd by a great Body of *Spanish* Horse, they lost fifty of their Men.

Mexico Audience. The Audience of *Mexico* is bounded by that of *Guadalajara* on the North-West: By the Gulph of *Mexico* on the East: By the Audience of *Gualimala* on the South-East: And by the *South Sea*, on the South-West:

Its Subdivisions. And contains Nine Provinces, viz. 1. *Mexico Proper*; 2. *Mechoutan*; 3. *Panuco*; 4. *Tlascala*; 5. *Guaxaca*; 6. *Tabasco*; 7. *Jucatan*; 8. *Chiapa*, and 9. *Soconusco*. The

Mexico Proper. Province of *Mexico Proper*, is bounded by *Panuco* on the North, *Tlascala* on the East, by *Meshoacan* towards the South, and *Xalisco* on the West.

This Province is said to exceed all the Provinces of *America*, in spacious extensive Valleys, in the Richness of its Arable Lands, Pasturage and Variety of Fruits: The great Lakes and Rivers, and the Neighbourhood of the Sea, also furnish them with Plenty of excellent Fish; and give them great Advantages in Trade, both Foreign and Domestick.

The chief Towns of *Mexico Proper*, are, 1. *Mexico*, the Metropolis of the whole Viceroyalty now, and anciently of the Empire of *Mexico*, situated in 20 Degrees of North Latitude, 103 Degrees West of *London*; in a spacious Lake, that lies on the East Side of a Valley, about fourteen *Spanish* Leagues in Length, seven in Breadth, and upwards of forty in Compass; the Valley being surrounded by Mountains on all Sides; which in the lowest

Part

Part are, forty-two thousand five hundred Mexico.
Yards above the Lake, according to *Gomelli Careri*, who was upon the Spot; but surely there must be a Cypher too much in this Account: For, if he means perpendicular Height, the lowest Mountains cannot be more than four thousand two hundred and fifty Yards above the Level of the Lake.

The Town is a perfect Square, each side half a League; and consequently, the Circumference of the whole about two Leagues. There is a great Square or Parade in the middle of it, from whence the Streets run quite through the Town in a direct Line, either North and South, or East and West, crossing each other at Right Angles; so that the Length and Breadth of the Place may be discerned at the Corner of any Street. They are all wide, and well pav'd, but generally dirty. The Town stands, great part of it, upon a Bog or Morass, which occasions the Foundations of some of them to sink; and, what is still worse, there are so many Rivers that fall from the Mountains into the Lake, that the Town is often in Danger of being overflowed; many of the Houses and Inhabitants have been actually swept away by Floods, tho' they have been at a vast Expence in making Canals, Dikes and Sluices to carry off the Waters. They have sometimes found the Hazard and Inconveniencies of their Situation so great, that it has been debated, Whether they should not abandon the City, and build another upon better Ground. But they have hitherto been diverted from that Resolution by several Considerations: 1. By the vast Expence it would be, to build such another City: 2. By the Coolness of the Situation, occasioned by the Lake, which they should

Mexico.

should want on higher Ground: And lastly, By the natural Strength of the City, there being no approaching it but by the five Causeys that have been made between the City and the main Land. This the ancient *Mexicans*, as well as the *Spaniards*, looked upon to be so great a Security, that they never erected Walls or Gates about it. The Churches and Houses are built of Stone or Brick, three Stories high, where the Ground will bear it: But they cannot lay their Foundations very deep, for the Reasons already mentioned. *Mexico* is an Archbishoprick; and there are in it, besides the Cathedral and Parochial Churches, twenty-nine Monasteries and two and twenty Nunneries, and contains, as is computed, about one hundred thousand Inhabitants. But, as most of the Lands in the Neighbourhood belong to the Churches and Religious Houses, which are all vastly rich, there are not many *Spanish* Noblemen and Gentlemen in the Place; and among the meaner sort of People, the *Spaniards* do not seem to make a tenth part of the Inhabitants. The bulk of the People are *Blacks* or *Mulattoes*; there having been abundance of Black Slaves brought thither, who by one means or other obtained their Freedom, and married with the Natives: Their Descendants are very numerous. There is also a strange Mixture of *Spanish* and *Indian* Blood. The pure *Spaniards*, and those that are descended from *Spanish* Ancestors on both Sides, are a very small Number, both here and in other Towns of *Mexico*. But I shall not enlarge on this Head here, having reserv'd a Chapter on purpose, to treat of the present Inhabitants of *Mexico*.

Neither

Neither shall I dwell upon their Trade and ^{Mexico.} Manufactures, having assigned a particular Chapter to treat of these: I shall only observe, that the Value of their Merchandize is not to be computed; this being the great Mart for all Goods brought from the *East Indies* or *Europe*. Those of the *East-Indies* they receive from *Acapulco*, a Sea-port on the *South Sea*; and those of *Europe* from *La Vera Cruz*, situated on the *North Sea*: And their own native Treasures, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, &c. added to the former, make the Shops and Markets of *Mexico*, the richest that are to be found in any Town in the World.

Their Churches and Monasteries are proportionably rich and splendid, and their Revenues surprisingly great. The Cathedral, like most others, is built in Form of a Cross, lofty and spacious; the Painting, Gilding and Carving exquisite; and it contains abundance of fine Altars and Chapels on each side, the High Altar standing in the middle of the Choir. The Revenues belonging to the Archbishop, Dean and Chapter, and other Ecclesiasticks of this Cathedral, are equal to the Beauty and Magnificence of the Buildings. There are belonging to it, nine Canons, five dignified Priests, *viz.* The Dean, Arch-deacon, School-master, Chanter and Treasurer; six Demi-Canons, and six Half-Demi-Canons, one Head Sacristan, four Curates chosen by the Vice-roy, twelve Royal Chaplains elected by the Chapter, and eight others. The Archbishop's constant annual Revenue (besides casual Fines, &c. which amount to near as much) is sixty thousand Pieces of Eight, near fifteen thousand Pounds *Sterling per annum*. The Dean's Revenue is eleven thousand Pieces of Eight

Mexico. Eight *per annum*, and the other four dignified Priests have eight thousand *per annum* each; the Canons six thousand; the Demi-Canons five thousand; the Half-Demi-Canons three thousand; each Curate four thousand; every Chaplain three hundred, and the Inferior Officers and Attendants in proportion. All the Ecclesiasticks belonging to this Church are three hundred in Number; and it is computed, the entire annual Revenue of the Cathedral of Mexico, amounts to three hundred thousand Pieces of Eight (each Piece four Shillings and Sixpence *English*;) at least, this was the State of it in the Year 1698, about forty Years since, as *Gemelli Careri* relates, who was then upon the Spot, and is esteemed one of the most judicious and faithful Writers that ever travelled.

What is most remarkable besides in Mexico, is the vast spacious Market-place, or Square in the middle of the Town; on one Side whereof runs a Cloyster, under which are some of the richest Shops in the World; and on the other, stands the magnificent Palace of the Viceroy, built about a large Square; the principal Front to the Market-place not inferior to that of *Naples*, in which the Courts of Justice are held.

The Palace of the Marquis *de Valle*, the Successor of the celebrated *Cortez* who conquered Mexico, is built on the Ground where one of the Palaces of the Emperor *Montezuma* stood, and admir'd for its Dimensions and Structure.

Beside the Churches and Monasteries in this City, there are several Hospitals richly endowed; among the rest, there is one for young Maids that are Orphans, who are maintained handsomely while they live single, and

and allowed five hundred Pieces of Eight each when they marry. There is another Hospital erected for those who have been unfortunate in Venereal Encounters, which has a Revenue of thirty-six thousand Pieces of Eight *per annum*, and is a Royal Foundation; and there is a third Hospital only for sick Priests: And *Gemelli* relates, that when he was in this City, the Archbishop Dr. *Francis d'Agua* gave that Year all his Revenues to the Poor, and an hundred thousand Pieces of Eight more: For, I find, in this rich City, there are a multitude of wretched Objects; but none poorer than the *Spaniards* themselves, who are above working, tho' not above thieving it seems: For the same Writer relates, that he saw the Viceroy sitting on his Tribunal, assisted by five other Judges; and that there were brought before him no less than four hundred *Spaniards* for Theft; adding, that tho' a Stranger be never so much upon his Guard, it is difficult for him to get out of the City without losing either his Money or Effects: That, as these idle *Spaniards* apply themselves to no other Business, but lying, sharpening, and cheating, they are such Masters of these Arts, that no honest Man can defend himself against them: They chuse this way of Life rather than Business, tho' all that will work are better paid for their Labour here than in any Place in the World.

The several Trades, I perceive, have their respective Streets or Quarters. There is a spacious Street, which runs from the Market, where the Goldsmiths expose their rich Goods to Sale; and here are to be seen, 'tis said, the Value of many Millions of Gold, Silver and Jewels. The Street of *St. Austin*, where the Mercers expose their rich Silks to Sale, has a

Mexico.

very grand and beautiful Appearance; and the Street called *Tacuba*, where those Tradesmen reside that deal in Brass, Steel, and Iron Ware, is very long and spacious: But the Street called *Eagle-street*, inhabited by the Nobility, Gentry, and great Lawyers, is said to excell all the rest in Magnificence. Here are no ordinary Houses or Tradesmens Shops intermix'd with them; and in this Street stands the Marquis *de Valle's* fine Palace, already mention'd.

There is also a pleasant Park, well planted, and adorn'd with Fountains and Water-works; whither the Quality of both Sexes, and the gay Part of the Town, resort every Evening, some in Coaches, and others on Horseback: And here the young Cavaliers endeavour to recommend themselves to the Ladies, by Feats of Activity and Horsemanship. Several hundreds of Coaches are frequently seen here, with numerous Retinues of black Slaves, in the richest Liveries, moving gently along, backwards and forwards, as at the Ring in *Hyde-Park*.

Another Diversion of the Citizens is fishing in Boats upon the Lake, whither they carry Wine and cold Provisions to regale themselves with upon the Water: And this brings me to give some Description of the Lake, on the West-side whereof *Mexico* is situated. This Lake is about five Leagues in Length, from North to South; but the Breadth is very unequal; the greatest Breadth is something more than four Leagues; but the North-end of it is scarce half so broad. North of this Lake, there are three others, which have a Communication with it by Rivers or Canals; and on the South there are two other Lakes, divided from

The Lakes
of Mexico.

from it only by a Causey. There are several *Mexico.*
Rivers that rise in the adjacent Mountains, and
fall into these Lakes, on the East and West ;
which are the occasion of those terrible Inun-
dations some Years in the rainy Season. The
Waters of these Lakes are not fit for all Uses ;
one of them is so salt, that they make Salt
of the Waters : And tho' some Travellers re-
late, that in several Places they are sweet and
wholesome ; yet, I perceive, the Water they
drink is brought from a Mountain that lies a
good distance from the Town, by a spacious
Aqueduct, supported by Arches.

The Neighbourhood of *Mexico* is render'd
extremely pleasant, by the numerous Palaces,
Country-Seats, Monasteries, and Villages, ei-
ther on the Islands in the Lakes, or on the
Banks of the several Lakes within View of the
City ; to which the Citizens resort in Boats,
when they are disposed to retire from the
Hurry of the Town.

The second Town I shall describe in *Mexico* *Acapulco*
Proper is *Acapulco*, a celebrated Port on the *Town.*
South Sea, in 17 Degrees North Latitude, and
in 102 Degrees of Western Longitude ; about
two hundred and forty Miles to the South-
ward of the City of *Mexico*. At this Port all
the Merchandize of *Europe* and *America* is
ship'd for *China* and the *Philippine Islands* in
the *East-Indies* ; and here the Ships annually
arrive in *January* from *China*, the *East-Indies*,
and *Peru*, with the Merchandize of those
Countries ; which makes the Fair that is held
here at that Time one of the greatest in the
World. *Gemelli*, who was upon the Spot,
says, that some Millions of Pieces of Eight
are return'd here during the Fair. But tho' it
is then crowded with wealthy Merchants, it

Mexico. has at other times the Appearance of a mean Village. Except the Castle and the Harbour, there is little worth notice; the Town consisting only of two or three hundred thatch'd Houses, inhabited by *Blacks* and *Mulattoes*; a Religious Cloister or two, and an Hospital. The Town lies at the Foot of some high Mountains, which cover it on the East, and render it very unhealthful. The *Spaniards* therefore, and even the Governor himself, desert the Place as soon as the Fair is over. The Harbour indeed is an excellent one, very secure and spacious; it has a narrow winding Entrance, defended by Platforms of great Guns; and within is inclosed by high Mountains, that surround it like a Wall, and so deep, that the Shipping may come up close to the Shore, and be fasten'd to the Trees on the Beach. The Governor of the Castle, who is also the chief Civil Magistrate in this Part of the Country, makes his Post worth twenty thousand Pieces of Eight *per annum*, arising chiefly from the Profits of the Fair. The Comptroller of the Customs makes little less; and the Curate (the Parson of the Place) whose stated Revenue is no more than one hundred and eighty Pieces of Eight *per annum*, makes fourteen thousand frequently; for he extorts most extravagant Fees from the Friends of such rich Merchants as die there, or on Board the Ships that arrive at *Acapulco*, and are buried there. *Gemelli* relates, that this Priest will not be satisfied sometimes with less than a thousand Pieces of Eight for his Burial-Fees. It is excessive dear living in this Place during the Fair; the Negro Porters expect three Pieces of Eight a Day for carrying Goods, and People pay a Dollar a Day for their Ordinary;

Ordinary : Inns, it seems, there are none in the *Mexico*.
Place ; or rather, all the Houses in the Town
are Inns during the Fair ; the People making
it their Business to accommodate Strangers
with Lodgings ; but there are multitudes that
lie in Huts and Tents for want of Room in
the Town.

Two Leagues to the Southward of this *Port Mar-*
Place is another Port, called *Port Marquis*, *quis Town*.
where Shipping sometimes puts in ; but the
Town consists only of a few Fishermens Huts,
and the Harbour is neither so commodious or
secure as the former.

The last Town I shall mention in the *Pro- Paebuca*
vince of *Mexico* is *Paebuca*, which having se- *Town*.
veral rich Silver Mines near it, the Silver is
refined here, and cast into Pigs or Bars, fit
for Transportation. The Town is situated
about sixty Miles North of the City of
Mexico.

The Province of *Meoboacon* is bounded by *Meoboacon*
Panuco on the North, by *Mexico Proper* on *Province*.
the East, by the *South Sea* toward the South,
and by *Guadalajara* on the West. In this
Province also are Mines of Gold, Silver, and
Copper ; and the Country produces Cotton
and Cacao Nuts, of which Chocolate is made :
It affords good Corn and Pasturage also ; and,
being well water'd with Rivers and Springs,
is esteem'd one of the most pleasant and health-
ful Provinces in the Audience of *Mexico*. The
chief Towns are, 1. *Meoboacon* the Capital,
situate in 20 Degrees North Latitude, and in
105 Degrees West Longitude, upon the side
of a Lake ; and is about an hundred and fifty
Miles to the Westward of the City of *Mexico* :
It is a Bishop's See, Suffragan to the Arch-
bishop of *Mexico* ; but I meet with no farther
Descrip-

Mexico.

Colima
Town.Navidad
Town.Panuco
Province.St. Lewis
de Tampice
Town.St. Este-
van, or
Panuco
Town.
St. Jago
Town.Potosi
Town.

Description of it. 2. *Colima*, situate in 18 Degrees North Latitude, not far from the Coast of the *South Sea*: The Town is said to be rich and spacious, and to stand upon a River in one of the most pleasant and fruitful Valleys of this Province, near which is a Vulcano, the Flames whereof are seen at Sea. 3. *Navidad*, or the *Port of Nativity*, situate on the *South Sea*, a little to the Westward of *Colima*, in 18 Degrees North Latitude. This is a good Harbour; and, the neighbouring Country affording Timber, the *Spaniards* build some of the largest Ships here they have in the *South Sea*.

The Province of *Panuco* is bounded by Part of *Florida* on the North; by the Gulph of *Mexico* on the East; by *Tlascala* and *Mexico Proper* on the South; and by *Mecboacan* and *Guadalajara* on the West. This Province has some Silver Mines; is tolerably fertile on the South next to *Mexico*; and the *Spaniards* used to make a great deal of Salt in that Part of it which lies on the Gulph of *Mexico*. The chief Towns are, 1. *St. Lewis de Tampice*, which lies just under the Tropic of *Cancer*, in 101 Degrees of West Longitude, and on the North-side of the River of *Panuco*, near its Mouth. 2. *St. Estevan Puerto*, formerly called *Panuco*, the Capital of the Province, situated on the South-side of the River *Panuco*. 3. *St. Jago de los Valles*, situated five Leagues South-west of *St. Estevan*. This Town is most taken notice of for the Salt-works near it, and the Garrison the *Spaniards* have here to awe the Natives. 4. The last Town I shall mention is *St. Lewis de Potosi*, an Inland Place to the North-west of *St. Jago de los Valles*, probably named

named *Potosi*, from a Silver Mine near it, resembling that of *Potosi* in *Peru*. Mexico.

The Province of *Tlascala*, or *Los Angeles*, *Tlascala* Province.
is bounded by *Panuco* on the North; by the Gulph of *Mexico* on the East; by *Guaxaca* and the *South Sea* on the South; and by *Mechoacan* and *Mexico Proper* on the West. This Province is said to be the best peopled by *Indians* of any in *Mexico*; the Natives having been exempted from Tribute, and well used by the *Spaniards*, on account of their joining *Cortez*, and assisting him in his Conquest of *Mexico*. It is a plentiful Country, abounding in Sugar, Corn, Cattle, and rich Pastures; nor is there any want of Venison or Wild-Fowl: Here are also some Silver Mines, Copperas, Allum, Liquid Amber, and fragrant Gums; with abundance of *Cochineel*. The Province is also well water'd with Rivers, the chief whereof is that of *Zabnah*, or *Zacatula*, which runs almost the whole Length of the Province, frequently overflows the flat Country, and falls into the *South Sea* to the Westward of *Acapulco*. The chief Towns are, 1. *Tlascala*, situate in 19 Degrees odd *Tlascala* Minutes North Latitude, in a fruitful Plain, Town. twenty Leagues to the Eastward of the City of *Mexico*: Once a large populous Place, Capital of the Province; but now dwindled to a Village, having little remarkable in it but a Monastery of *Franciscans*. 2. *Puebla de los Angeles*, or the *City of Angels*, situate in 19 *Los Angeles* Degrees of North Latitude, on the Banks of Town. the River *Zacatula*, in a fine Valley, twenty-five Leagues to the Eastward of *Mexico*. The Buildings are chiefly of Stone, and the Form of it like that of other *Spanish* Towns: A spacious Square in the Middle, from whence run

Mexico. run the principal Streets in a direct Line, which are cross'd by others at Right Angles. The great Square is encompass'd on three Sides with a stately uniform Piazza, under which are the Shops of the principal Tradesmen; and on the fourth Side of the Square is the Cathedral, with a most beautiful Front: This is, in every respect, a finer Square than that of *Mexico*, according to *Gemelli*, who view'd both of them. The Streets also are much cleaner; and there are a great many beautiful and magnificent Parochial and Conventual Churches, with several rich Monasteries and Nunneries: But some Parts of this fine Town, I perceive, are subject to Inundations, as well as *Mexico*. It is the See of a Bishop, Suffragan to the Archbishop of *Mexico*, whose annual Revenue is fourscore thousand Pieces of Eight *per annum*; and there are two hundred thousand more paid annually to the Canons and Officers of the Church; the whole Revenues whereof amount to three hundred thousand Pieces of Eight *per annum*. The People of this City in general are exceeding wealthy; tho' the Laity, in this Part of the World, cannot pretend to vie with the Clergy, either in Estates or Influence. 3. *Vera Cruz*, or *Ulva*, situate in the Gulph of *Mexico*, in 18 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, and in 100 Degrees of Western Longitude, lying about sixty-five or seventy Leagues South-east of the City of *Mexico*, in a barren sandy Plain; but considerable upon account of an excellent Harbour, defended by its natural Situation within the Rocks, and by a Castle and Forts at the Entrance: It is also of Importance, on account of the *Flotilla's* resorting hither to receive the Gold and Silver found in the Mines of *Mexi-*

Vera Cruz
or *Ulva*
Town.

co; and its being a Mart for all manner of Merchandize and rich Goods that are brought hither to the Fair from *China*, the *East-Indies*, *Peru*, and *Europe*. Mexico.

The Town extends itself from East to West, being much longer than broad; but it is not more than half a League in Circumference. The Walls are of very little Use, the Sands being level with the Tops of them in many Places; but the Castle and Forts are so situated, as to be a Defence to the Ships in the Harbour. The Air is very unhealthful, especially during the North-winds, which blow frequently on this Coast. The Place is also very poor, being inhabited by *Blacks* and *Mulattoes*, and some few *Spaniards*; unless when the *Flota* is there, and then vast Multitudes resort to *Vera Cruz* from all Parts, living in little Huts or Tents, while the Fleet remains there; but, upon the Departure of the Fleet, all People of Substance retire into the Country, as well on account of their Healths, as because their Effects are not in any Security there, the Town having been several times plunder'd by *Buccaneers* or *Pirates*. I don't find there is more than one Parish-Church in the Place, but there are some Convents and an Hospital that have Churches belonging to them. The Houses are, for the most part, thatch'd Cottages; the Owners most of them Fishermen. The ordinary Garrison the *Spaniards* have here, consists of a Troop of sixty Horse, and two Companies of Foot; which are scarce sufficient to defend the Town against the *Buccaneers*. It was near this Place, viz. at *Ulva*, or *Old Vera Cruz*, that *Cortez* landed, when he enter'd on the Conquest of *Mexico*; *Old Vera Cruz*. Ulva, or

Mexico.

Guaxaca
Province.Spirito
Sancto
Town.Guaxata
Town.Guatulco
Harbour.Tecoanti-
peque.

ous an Harbour, was deserted; and there are now scarce any Remains of it. The Province of *Guaxaca*, or *Guaxata*, is bounded by the *North Sea* on the North; by *Tabasco* on the East; by the *South Sea* on the South; and by *Tlascala*, or *Los Angeles*, towards the West. The chief Towns are, 1. *Spirito Sancto*, situate in 17 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, and in 97 Degrees of Western Longitude, at the Foot of certain Mountains near the *South Sea*. 2. *Guaxata*, the Capital, situate in a fine Valley on the Banks of the River *Alvarado*, about twenty Leagues to the Southward of *La Vera Cruz*: It is a Bishop's See, Suffragan of *Mexico*, and said to be a rich well-built Town, and the Country about it full of Villages. 3. *Guatulco*, or *Aquatulco*, situate on the *South Sea*, in 15 Degrees and a half North Latitude, and 98 Degrees of Western Longitude, once a good *Spanish* Town; but, having been frequently plunder'd by Enemies and Pirates, was totally deserted; and there is now scarce any Remains of the Town but a small Chappel, and is only mention'd here for its excellent Harbour, which, our Seamen relate, is one of the most commodious on the Coast of *Mexico*. 4. *Tecoantipeque*, situated to the Eastward of *Guatulco*, on a River that falls into the *South Sea*, said to be a well-built Town; but has been plunder'd, I perceive, more than once by the *Bucaneers*.

The Air of this Province is good, and the Lands fruitful: They have great Numbers of Horses, Mules, Sheep and Oxen; and, abounding in Mulberry-trees, make more Silk than any Part of *Mexico*. Here are also rich Mines of Gold and Silver, and Gold Sands in several

ral of their Rivers. It produces *Cassia*, *Cochineel*, *Corn*, *Cotton*, *Sugar*, *Cocoa-Nuts*, *Plantains*, and a Variety of other Fruits. The Province is mountainous, like the rest of *Mexico*; but has several fine Valleys in it, particularly that of *Guaxaca*, which is sixteen Leagues in Length, and full of Villages; and, the Country extending both to the *North* and the *South* Seas, is extremely well situated for Trade.

The Province of *Tabasco* is bounded by the Bay of *Campeachy* on the North; by *Yucatan* on the East; by *Chiapa* on the South; and by *Guaxaca* on the West; and was heretofore deem'd a Part of *Yucatan*. As most part of this Province lies on the Bay of *Campeachy*, where the Logwood grows which our Dyers use, the Land is generally so flat and low, that it remains under Water great part of the Year. *Dampier* relates, that it rains nine Months in the Year here; and that the Logwood-cutters work in the Water usually up to their Knees, when they fell those Trees; and they can scarce find a dry Piece of Ground to build their Huts on; that there are Woods and Thickets of Mangroves, Bamboe-Canes and Briars on the Coast, that grow in the Water a Yard deep, and are almost impenetrable: However, farther up in the Country, are fine Savannahs, or Meadow-Grounds, and gentle rising Hills on the sides of them, planted with Guava's, Cocoa-nut-trees, and other Fruits; and Hills beyond them, on which grow Cedar, Brazil-Wood, and other good Timber. In the Valleys between the Hills, they have *Indian* Corn, Rice, Barley, and all manner of Garden Stuff; and the *Spaniards* have introduced, Grapes, Figs, Lemons, Oranges, and other *European* Fruits:

Mexico. Fruits: Here are also found Deer, and a Species of wild Hogs, proper to *America*, and almost all sorts of *European* Cattle. But, tho' the Sea-Coasts of this Province are overflow'd six or seven Months of the Year, it is so hot and dry there for three Months, *viz.* in *February*, *March*, and *April*, that there is scarce any enduring it, or any fresh Water to be found, which makes the Country very unhealthful, and is the Reason possibly that there are no Towns near the Coast; for, as for *Tabasco*, so much talk'd of, I find scarce any Traces of it, only a large River of that Name; on the Banks whereof are some straggling *Indian* Houses, and Fishermens Huts; but nothing that has the Appearance of a Town. *Dampier*, who lived among the *Jamaica* Logwood-cutters a great while, in the Bay of *Campeachy*, assures us, there is not so much as an *Indian* Village, much less a *Spanish* Town within four or five Leagues of the Coast, in the Bay of *Campeachy*, for several hundred Miles. He adds, that it is very pleasant sailing up the River *Tabasco*, the Banks being planted with tall Cabbage-trees an hundred Foot high, and with the largest Cotton and other Timber-trees, that are to be met with any-where: That, eight Leagues up the River, the *Spaniards* have a Breast-work and a small Guard to watch the *Buccaneers*, who sometimes venture up, and have actually plunder'd the Town call'd *Villa de Mosc*, which lies four Leagues higher than the Breast-work; and this seems to me to be the chief Town in the Country; for he tells us, here is a Fort and a Church in it, and that it is inhabited by *Spaniards* and *Indians*: That thus far the Ships come up with *European* Goods in the Months

Months of *November* or *December*, and stay here till *June* or *July*, taking *Cocoa* and other native Commodities in return: That all the Merchants and Tradesmen in the Country resort hither at *Christmas*, which very much enriches the Place. He mentions also the Town of *Estape*, lying on the same River, four Leagues beyond *Villa de Mosc*; said to be a Town of pretty good Trade, and of such Force, that it repulsed Captain *Hewet*, when he attack'd it with two hundred desperate Buccaneers. He mentions a flourishing Town call'd *Halpo*, also higher up the River of *Tabasco*.

The Province of *Yucatan*, or *Yucatan*, is a Peninsula, situated in the Gulph of *Mexico*, between the Bays of *Campeachy* and *Honduras*: The Isthmus whereof has the Provinces of *Tabasco* and *Chiapa* on the West. This Peninsula extends from 16 to 21 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, and lies between the 89th and 94th Degrees of West Longitude: It is generally flat, low Land, scarce any Hills, unless in the Western Part of it, near the Isthmus: It is now thinly inhabited, especially near the Coasts; tho' it was very full of People before the *Spaniards* destroy'd the Natives. This Country is not agreeable to *European* Constitutions, the Air being excessive hot, and the Lands near the Coast frequently under Water. The chief Produce of the Country is Cotton, Salt, and Logwood; and the *Indians* employ themselves pretty much in fishing. The only *Spanish* Town on this extensive Coast is *Campeachy*, situate on the West side of the Peninsula, in 19 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude: It stands in a Bending of the Land, but open to the Sea; and, being

Mexico. ing built of Stone, and surrounded with a good Wall, makes a fine Appearance: It has a Citadel for its Defence; notwithstanding which, it has been twice taken by the Buccaneers, viz. in the Years 1650 and 1678; the last Time by Surprize; the Buccaneers enter'd the Gates in the Day-time without Opposition, the Spaniards looking upon them to be a Party of their own Garrison, return'd from an Expedition out of the Country. There are two Inland Spanish Towns of some Note in *Yucatan*, viz. *Merida* and *Valladolid*. The Town of *Merida* is situated in 20 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, between thirty and forty Miles from the North Sea, and is a Bishop's See; but I meet with no farther Description of it. The Town of *Valladolid* is situated on the East-side of the Peninsula, in 19 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, about thirty Miles within Land, and forty to the Westward of the Island of *Cozumel*.

Merida
Town.

Valladolid
Town.

Cozumel
Island.

Chiapa
Province.

Chiapa
Town.

The Province of *Chiapa* is an Inland Country, bounded by *Tabasco* on the North; by *Yucatan* on the East; and by *Soconusco* on the South. It is mountainous, but well wooded and water'd, and has several fruitful Valleys, where they feed great Herds of Cattle; and they have a pretty brisk Trade with the neighbouring Provinces. The chief Town is *Chiapa*, or *Ciudad Real*, situate in 16 Degrees odd Minutes of North Latitude, in a Plain surrounded by Mountains, at an equal Distance almost from the North and South Sea. It is a Bishop's See, and the Seat of their Courts of Justice; and there are some Monasteries in the Town; but I don't find it is either rich or populous. There is another Town called *Chiapa de los Indos*, because it is inhabited by the

the Natives, the largest *Indian Town* in the *Mexico*.
Country, and situate about twelve Leagues
from *Spanish Chiapa*.

The Province of *Soconusco* is bounded by *Soconusco*
Chiapa on the North; by *Guatemala* towards Province.
the East; and by the *South Sea* on the South
and West. It lies along the Coast of the
South Sea for above an hundred Miles, and is
not a very fruitful Country; neither do they
seem to have much Trade. Our Seamen ob-
serve, that it is very mountainous; and that
the highest Mountain, which is a *Vulcano*,
goes by the Name of *Soconusco*. That to the
South-east of this *Vulcano* runs a River, on
the Banks whereof is situated a large *Indian*
Town; and that both the Town and the Ri- *Soconusco*
ver take their Names from the *Vulcano*. Town.

The Audience of *Guatemala* is bounded by *Guatemala*
that of *Mexico* on the North-west; by the Audience.
North Sea on the North-east; by the Province
of *Darien*, or *Terra-firma Proper*, in *South*
America, on the South-east; and by the *South*
Sea on the South-west; being about a thousand
Miles in Length from the North-west to the
South-east; but scarce half so broad in any
Part, and in some not an hundred Miles
broad. This Audience is subdivided into six
Provinces, viz. 1. *Vera Paz*; 2. *Guatemala* Subdivi-
Proper; 3. *Honduras*; 4. *Nicaragua*; 5. tion of it.
Costa Rica; and, 6. *Veragua*.

The Province of *Vera Paz* is bounded by *Vera Paz*
the Gulph of *Honduras* and *Yucatan* on the Province.
North; by the Province of *Honduras* on the
East; by *Guatemala Proper* on the South;
and by *Chiapa* towards the West. It is said to
have had the Name of *Vera Paz*, or *True*
Peace, given it by the *Spaniards*; because the
Natives submitted, and made Peace with
them

Mexico. them voluntarily. It is a woody mountainous Country, subject to Earthquakes, and neither fruitful or populous. The Spaniards mention *Vera Paz*, two Towns, viz. *Vera Paz*, or *Coban*, and *St. Peter's*, both of them situated a little to the Southward of the Bay of *Honduras*; but Travellers have not thought them worth a particular Description. *Coban*, or *Vera Paz*, is found in our Maps, in 15 Degrees North Latitude; and *St. Peter's* a little to the South-east of it.

Guatemala Province. The Province of *Guatemala Proper* is bounded by *Vera Paz* towards the North; by *Nicaragua* and *Honduras* on the East; and by the *South Sea* on the South-west. It is a mountainous Country, every Mountain almost a Vulcano, and subject to Earthquakes and fiery Eruptions; as *Dampier*, Captain *Rogers*, and others relate, who were very well acquainted with the Coast. There are, however, many fruitful Valleys, abounding in Corn and Pasturage, and rich Drugs for Dying, viz. *Indico*, *Otta*, *Silvester*, and *Cochineel*; and great Herds of Cattle; several Sugar Plantations, and some Silver Mines; and, as it lies along the Coast of the *South Sea*, is well supplied with Fish. It is agreed, by all, to be an exceeding fruitful Country; nor are the Heats so intolerable as might be expected between the Tropics, the Earth being refreshed by the annual Rains and the Land and Sea Breezes, which succeed each other every Day at stated Hours. The chief Towns are, 1. *Guatemala*, or *St. Jago de Guatemala*, the Capital, situate in 14 Degrees North Latitude, eight or nine Leagues from the *South Sea*. There is a famous Mountain, with two Tops, two or three Leagues from this

this City; out of one of which, issues Water, Mexico.
 and out of the other, Fire. At the bottom of Mexico.
 this Mountain stood the old Town of *Guati-*
mala, once destroy'd by a fiery Eruption, and
 a second time by Water issuing from the other
 Head; which induced the *Spaniards* to build
 the new City three Leagues from thence:
 However, at this distance, the Town is some-
 times cover'd with Ashes from the fiery Vul-
 cano, which throws out Stones and Pieces of
 Rocks as big as a House, and is observed to
 to burn most fiercely during the rainy Season.
 The new Town lies on a River in a fine Val-
 ley, and is one of the largest Cities in *Spanish*
America, containing upwards of eight thousand
 Families. It is the Seat of the President, and
 of the Courts of Justice of this Audience; a
 Bishop's See, Suffragan of *Mexico*; a Univer-
 sity; and has several fine Monasteries: The
 Cathedral and Parochial Churches also are ex-
 ceeding rich. 2. *Trinidad*, or *Sonsonate*, a *Trinidad*
 Port-Town, situate on the Bay of the South Town.
 Sea, an hundred Miles South-east of *Guati-*
mala, in 13 Degrees North Latitude: It con-
 sists of four or five hundred *Spanish* Families,
 besides *Mulattoes* and *Indians*, and has five
 Churches. 3. *St. Michael's*, another Port- St. Mi-
 Town to the Eastward of *Sonsonate*, having chael's, a
 seven or eight hundred Houses, and several Port-
 fine Churches; and near it is a great Vulcano, Town.
 call'd *The Vulcano of St. Michael's*; beyond
 which is a large Lake, the Banks whereof are
 well inhabited by *Spaniards*, *Mulattoes*, and
Indians. 4. *Amapalla*, situate on a fine Bay Amapalla
 to the Eastward of *St. Michael's*, in which Town.
 are above an hundred *Spanish* Families, who
 have a brisk Trade for their *Cochineel*, *Cocoa*,
Hides, *Indico*, &c.

Mexico.

Honduras
Province.

The Province of *Honduras*, or *Comaiagua*, is bounded by the Gulph of *Honduras* and the *North Sea* on the North and East; by *Guatemala Proper* and *Nicaragua* on the South; and by *Vera Paz* on the West. The Air of this Country is said to be generally good, and the Soil rich in Corn and Pasturage, occasioned by the annual Floods of their numerous Rivers, and was exceedingly populous, till the Natives were destroy'd by the *Spaniards*, who tortured and put many of them to death, 'tis said, to make them discover their Gold and Silver, and killed many more, by obliging them to work in the Mines, and carry Burthens beyond their Strength. It is even said, in a Letter to *Charles V.* written by the Bishop of *Chiapa*, that the *Spaniards* murdered two Millions of People in this Province; but this Account must certainly be very extravagant, there being scarce so many People in it, if it be true, as most Writers agree, that *America* was not so well peopled as *Europe*, when the *Spaniards* came thither. The chief Towns are, 1. *Valladolid* or *Comaiagua*, situate in 14 Degrees of North Latitude, and 91 Degrees of Western Longitude, in a pleasant Valley, on the West-side of a River, which falls into the Gulph of *Honduras*, 80 Miles North of the Town. Here the Silver is refin'd, which is dug in the adjacent Mountains. It is the Residence of the Governor of the Province, and a Bishop's See, Suffragan of *Mexico*. 2. *Truxillo*, situate in 15 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, on a Bay of the Sea, on the North-side of the Province. It stands on an Eminence between two Rivers, the Mouths whereof, and some Islands that lie before it, form the Harbour, which is defended by

by a Castle; but the Place has however been plunder'd several times by the Buccaneers.

Gracias a Dios, situated at the Mouth of a River near the North-east Cape, or Promontory of *Honduras*. It stands on a Mountain near a fine fruitful Valley, and hath some Gold Mines in the Neighbourhood of it.

The Province of *Nicaragua* is bounded by *Honduras* on the North, by the North Sea on the East, by *Costa Rica* towards the South-East, and by the South Sea on the South-West.

This Country consists of Mountains, Valleys, and spacious Lakes, with fine Savannahs or Meadows, in which feed numerous Herds of Cattle. They have also Sugar Plantations, and a Variety of pleasant Fruits. And their constant Sea and Land-breezes, with that extensive Lake, that runs quite cross it, renders this Province cool and healthful. Inasmuch, that some of our Countrymen, that have resided here, call it the Paradise of the Indies. But the Vulcanses in their Mountains, and the Earthquakes occasion'd by them, too often disturb their Repose. The West End of the great Lake I have mentioned, lies within a few Leagues of the South Sea, and stretching to the Westward falls into the North Sea by a narrow Channel, usually called the River of *Nicaragua*; but this Channel, it seems, is so obstructed by Rocks, and the River falls down such Precipices frequently, that the Navigation is scarce practicable: Nor do the Spaniards care to move these Obstructions, lest some other Nations should find a way through this Lake to their Settlements on the South Sea; for the Head of the Lake is not more than four or five Leagues distant from the South Sea. It is of a good Depth after passing the narrow Channel

Mexico.
Gracias a Dios.

Nicaragua Province.

Nicaragua Lake.

Mexico. Channel from the *North Sea*, and upwards of an hundred Miles in Length, and thirty or forty in Breadth. It ebbs and flows like the Sea, and the Banks of it are pretty well inhabited; on account of the Plenty of good Fish in it, and other Conveniencies; but it is pretty much infested by Crocodiles and Alligators.

**Leon
Town.**

The chief Towns in this Province are, 1. The City of *Leon*, situate towards the West-End of the said Lake, in 11 Degrees and half of North Latitude, about 20 Miles to the Eastward of the *South Sea*. It stands in a Plain at the Foot of a piqued Mountain, call'd, *The Vulcano of Leon*. It is a Bishop's See, and besides the Cathedral, has several Churches and Monasteries, and about a thousand Houses, whereof the Governors and some of the principal Inhabitants make a grand Appearance; but they are most of them low built on account of Earthquakes. The Riches of the Place has tempted the Buccaneers to plunder it several times, and particularly the Crew that *Dampier* sail'd with in the Year 1684, who set Fire to the Place, on the Governor's refusing them a Sum of Money. And perhaps the Easiness of Access to this City, was one great Inducement to their attempting it; for *Dampier* relates, that the Way to it lay through fine level Savannahs or Meadows: Nor does he mention any Fortifications about it, only some Breast-works in the Way thither. 2.

**Ria Lexa
Town.**

Ria Lexa, or *Rea Lejo*, situate on the *South Sea*, being the Port-Town to the City of *Leon*, and situate twenty Miles West of it. The Town stands in a Plain on a small River, is pretty large, and, according to *Dampier*, has three Churches and an Hospital; but is a very sickly Place, on account of the Creeks and

Salt-

Salt-marshes, that lie about it, and occasion a very nauseous Smell. 3. *Granada*, situate on the South-side of the Lake of *Nicaragua*, about sixty Miles South-East of *Leon*, a good trading Town, with some Fortifications about it; and yet it was taken and plundered by the Buccaneers in the Year 1686. 4. *St. John's*, *St. John's*. situate on the North-side of the River of *Nicaragua*, about an hundred Miles to the Westward of the *North Sea*; but I meet with no farther Description of it.

The Province of *Costa Rica*, or the *Rich Costa Rica* Coast, is bounded by *Nicaragua* on the North; Province. by the *North Sea* on the East; by *Veragua* on the South-East, and by the *South Sea* on the South-West, extending two hundred Miles along the *South Sea* Coast, and about sixty Miles along the Coast of the *North Sea*. This is a mountainous barren Country; but inexpressibly rich in Gold and Silver Mines, from whence its Shoars obtain'd the Name of the *Rich Coast*. The chief Towns are, 1. *Ni- Nicoya* *Nicoya* *Town*. *coya*, situated thirty Miles to the Eastward of a Bay of the *South Sea*, to which however it gives its Name, and lies in 10 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, consisting of about fourscore Houses. The Bay is much frequented by the *Spanish* Shipping, being a commodious Harbour, and several Rivers falling into it; but what is most considerable, is a Pearl-Fishery the *Spaniards* have here, which yields them a considerable Profit. This may well be called the *Rich Coast* therefore, when the Sea and the Land yield such valuable Treasures. All our Seamen take Notice of the Mountains near this Coast, both on account of their vast Height and the Figure they make at Sea: They are called *The Crown Mountains*, *The Crown* and *Mountains*,

Mexico. and are five or six Ridges of Hills, gradually surmounting each other, and resembling a Crown at a distance. But to return to the Town of *Nicoya*: This also was taken and plunder'd by the Buccaneers in the Year 1687, who extorted a considerable Sum from the Governor, for not setting it on fire; so exceeding weak do the *Spaniards* appear to be in those Parts. 2. The second Town I shall mention, is *Carthage*, the Capital, which is situated also thirty or forty Miles within the Land to the Eastward of *Nicoya*; but I meet with no farther Description of it. As it is a barren Country, there are few Towns in it, and those are not very considerable.

Carthage Town.

Veragua Province.

The Province of *Veragua* is bounded by the North Sea on the North; by the Province of *Darien*, or *Terna-firma Proper* in South America, and by the Gulph of *Panama* on the East; by the South Sea on the South, and by *Costa Rica* on the West. This is a mountainous barren Country; but then their Mountains are well cloath'd with Timber, and near the Coast of the North and South Seas, the Land is low and incumber'd with Thickets of Mangroves and *Bamboa* Canes, and generally very unhealthful; but they have Mines of Gold and Silver, not inferior to those of *Costa Rica*; and in their Rivers, which fall from the Mountains, is frequently found Gold Dust: But the Course of their Rivers is very short and rapid, especially those that fall into the North Sea, the Mountains lying very near that Shoar; nor are they far from the Coast of the South Sea. The chief Towns are, 1. *Santa Fe*, or *St. Faith's*, situate in the middle of the Province, in 9 Degrees of North Latitude and 83 Degrees of Western Longitude; where,

Santa Fe Town.

'tis

'tis said, the *Spaniards* melt their Gold into Mexico. Bars ; but their Capital is said to be, 2. The Town of *Conception*, situate on a Bay of the *North Sea*, forty Miles North of *Santa Fe* ; but I meet with no farther Description of either of these Towns. 3. *Puebla Nova*, or *New Puebla Town*, situate at the Mouth of a River, which runs into the *South Sea*, encompass'd with Bogs and Morasses ; said to be a large Place, but of no Force, being taken by a Crew of *Buccaneers*, with whom *Dampier* sail'd in the Year 1685. 4. *Cbiriqui*, situate on a River, that falls into the *South Sea*, about three Miles from its Mouth, and upwards of forty Miles to the Westward of *Puebla Nova*. This Town also was taken by the *Buccaneers* in 1686. As was, 5. *La Villia* on the same Coast, where the *Buccaneers* surpriz'd three hundred *Spaniards* in the Church at High-Mass, and possessed themselves of a vast Treasure in Bullion and rich Merchandize ; but falling into an Ambuscade afterwards, lost most part of their Plunder ; however, they carried off their Prisoners, and had upwards of ten thousand Pieces of Eight paid them for their Ransom.

Having given a Description of modern *Mexico*, and some of the chief *Spanish* Towns ; I proceed to describe the Towns and Villages of the *Indians*, both ancient and modern, with the Form of their Houses, and the Materials, of which they were, or are built, with their Furniture, as far as we can learn these Particulars from the first Discoverers, or from Travellers that have lately visited those Countries ; and first I shall treat of the City of *Old Mexico*.

Mexico.

Old Mexico
as describ'd

What the Form of the old City was, no Author, that I have met with, attempts to describe, any more than the Dimensions: But, as it stood on the same Ground the present City stands on, there is Reason to believe it was square as modern *Mexico* is, or pretty near that Figure; and the Dimensions may be gather'd from the Number of Families that resided in it, which the Histories of that Conquest make to be about sixty thousand. These Histories inform us also, that there was a vast Square in the middle of the City, which, in the Time of their great Fair, contained an hundred thousand People, that resorted thither with their Goods and Merchandizes, and lodged in the Booths and Tents they erected in that Square: That the Town was divided into two Parts; the one inhabited by the Court, the Nobility, and Persons of Distinction; and the other by Tradesmen and People of inferior Rank: That the former was much the largest Part; where the Streets were spacious, the Houses of white hewn Stone, one Story high; and that they had flat Roofs adorn'd with Battlements: That their Cielings were of Cedar, Cypress, or other odoriferous Wood; and their Hangings were either of Furs and beautiful Feathers, or painted Cotton Linen, with a Variety of Figures of Birds, Beasts, or Plants. The only Furniture mention'd besides, are their Beds and Chairs, which do not seem suitable to the rest; for their Beds were no better than Mats, and their Chairs of Wood; nor were any of the Nobility served in Plate: This was the Prerogative only of the Emperor, the rest eat out of earthen Dishes.

Buildings.

Furniture.

The

The only publick Buildings Writers give us any Description of, are the Emperor's Palaces, and their Temples; and these Descriptions are not so full as could be wish'd.

The Palace, where *Montezuma*, the last Emperor, resided, sufficiently shew'd the Magnificence of that Prince, says the *History of the Conquest*. The Pile was so very large, that it open'd with thirty Gates, into as many different Streets; the principal Front making one Side of the great Square above-mention'd. The Materials of this Building were polish'd Jasper, black, red and white; and over each Gate, in a large Shield, were the Arms of *Montezuma*, being a Griffin, half Eagle and half Lion, with the Wings extended, and a Tiger in his Talons.

This Palace consisted of several square Courts, so vastly extensive, that here were Apartments for three thousand of his Women, and a proportionable Number of other Domesticks; and might rather be styl'd a separate City, than a Place.

The Palace assign'd to *Cortez* and his Army was vastly large, containing commodious Rooms and Apartments for his five hundred Spaniards, and for several thousand *Tlascalans*, his *Indian* Allies; the whole being surrounded with a thick Stone Wall, and flank'd with stately Towers, at convenient Distances. In several of the Streets of *Mexico* were Canals, with Bridges over them, and many thousand Boats ply'd upon the Water to bring in Provisions, and for the Service or Pleasure of the Inhabitants. There were two vast Aqueducts also made by the Emperor *Montezuma*, which brought in fresh Water from a Mountain three Miles distance, supplying the Palaces and the

Mexico.

numerous Fountains in the high Streets with Water.

Belides the two Palaces already mentioned, *Montezuma* had several Pleasure-houses in and about the City: In one of which were great Galleries, supported by Pillars of Jasper, in which were kept every Species of Land-Fowls and Birds that *Mexico* produced. The Sea-Fowls were preserved and fed in Reservoirs of salt Water; and those that were bred in Lakes and Rivers, in others of fresh Water; and so numerous were the feather'd Race of all Kinds, that it is said to be the Business of three hundred Men to feed and look after them.

In another Square, of the same Palace, were kept all manner of wild Beasts, in their respective Dens and Cages, in a most regular Order; and in another Part of this Palace were Apartments for Dwarfs and Monsters, Fools and Naturals, of the human Species, kept for the Sport or Service of the Court.

Here were also Armories, well replenish'd with Armour, and all manner of *Indian* Weapons; of which I shall give a particular Account under another Head: And in the same Quarter were seen the Artificers at work that form'd and clean'd these Arms.

All these Palaces had spacious and elegant Gardens, not planted with Fruit, but laid out in fine shady Walks, Beds of fragrant and medicinal Herbs, and Parterres of beautiful Flowers; with magnificent Summer-houses, Bagnio's, Arbours, and Fountains, that might have vied with any Thing of that kind in *Europe* in those Days.

But there was a Building, in the most solitary Part of these Gardens, which surprized the Spaniards, 'tis said, more than any thing

they met with; and that was an Edifice call'd *The House of Sorrow*; to which the Emperor used to retire on the Death of his near Relations, or on any Calamity, publick or private. It was so contrived, as to inspire those that approached it with gloomy melancholy Thoughts; the Roof, the Cieling, and Sides were black; and only Light enough let in to discover the dismal Obscurity. Here he used to remain till the Time of Mourning, and Humiliation were over; and here, if we may credit those Authors who write the Conquest of Mexico, Montezuma used to converse familiarly with the Prince of Darkness: But those who read these Gentlemen, are at Liberty to believe as much or as little as they please of such Relations.

I come, in the next place, to the Description of the Mexican Temples, the principal whereof was dedicated to *Vixtlipuzli, the God of War*. This stood on a spacious Square, surrounded by a Wall of hewn Stone, wrought on the Outside with various Knots of twisted Serpents: At a little distance from the principal Gate was a Place of Worship, built of Stone, and ascended on the Outside by thirty Steps, on the Top whereof was a long flat Roof, and the Front of it adorn'd with the Skulls of Men that had been sacrificed, placed in rows one above another, which half cover'd this Edifice.

On each Side of the grand Square was a magnificent Gate, and over every one of them four Statues, supposed to represent some subordinate Deities; for all that enter'd the Gates seem'd to adore them. Under the Wall, on the Inside, were the Apartment of the Priests,

and of their Officers and Servants; and yet the Square was so very extensive, that there was Room left for eight or ten thousand Persons to dance on their solemn Festivals.

In the middle of the Square was an Edifice of a pyramidal Form; three Sides whereof were smooth, and the fourth contain'd an hundred and twenty Stone-steps, by which they ascended to the Top, that was a Flat of forty Foot square, laid with Jasper of all Colours. The Rails, or Ballustrade, that surrounded this were of a serpentine Form, cover'd with a Stone as black as Jet, and join'd with a red and white Cement, that was very ornamental.

On each Side, within the Rails, was a marble Statue, supporting a vast Candlestick, and between them a green Stone, five Spans high from the Floor, which terminated in a Point; and on this they extended the human Victims they sacrificed, throwing them on their Backs, and ripping them open with Knives made of Flint; after which, they tore out their Hearts, and offer'd them to their Idols; For, on the farther Side, opposite to the Stairs, stood a Chappel of exquisite Materials and Architecture, where the Idol was placed on an Altar. This Image was of human Form, and sat on a Throne, sustained by an Azure Globe, which they called Heaven; from the Sides whereof issued four Rods, their Ends resembling the Heads of Serpents: On the Head of the Image was a Helmet, adorn'd with Plumes of various Colours; its Countenance was severe and terrible, and much deformed by two blue Bands, which bound the Forehead and the Nose; in the Right Hand is held a twining Serpent, that served for a Staff, and in the
Left



VITZLIPUTSLI

Spitz. Kupfer. 1. Kupfer.

4 AP 54

Left four Arrows, which were revered as the Gift of Heaven: It bore a Shield also, adorn'd with fine white Plumes in the Form of a Cross. On the Left Hand was another Chappel of the same Form, in which was the Image of *Itzatek*, another of their Gods; resembling the former however in every respect: They were esteemed Friends, or rather so intimately united, that they ascribed to them the same Attributes, and paid them the same Honours. The Walls and Altars of these Chappels were immensely rich, cover'd with Jewels and precious Stones, set on Feathers of various Colours.

There were eight of these Temples in Mexico, of the like Architecture and equal Wealth, besides two thousand small ones, dedicated to as many different Gods; every Street having its tutelary Deity; every Distress or Calamity its particular Altar, to which they had Recourse for a Remedy of their several Sufferings: But, having reserved a Chapter on purpose to treat of their Religion, I forbear enlarging on that Subject here.

Those, who have written the Conquest of Mexico, have given us an Account of several other noble Cities and Towns in that Empire, whose Buildings were little inferior to the Capital; particularly *Ixtacpalapa*, situate on an Island in the Lake about two Leagues from Mexico, and with which it had a Communication by a spacious Stone Causey. The Spaniards, who pass'd through this City in their first March to Mexico, relate, that it consisted of ten thousand Houses, many of which were built like those of Mexico, with flat Roofs, Battlements, and Cedar Cielings; and that the Rooms of the Cacique's Palace were hung with

Some other ancient Towns described.

Mexico. with Cotton Linen finely painted: That, among other Curiosities in his Garden, he had a square Reservoir of Stone, with Stairs on every Side going down to the Bottom, each Side containing four hundred Paces. Another City they pass'd through call'd *Cholula*, which for Beauty they compared to *Valladolid* in *Spain*, and assure us, that it contained twenty thousand Souls, and had a Suburbs of equal Dimensions.

The City of *Tlascala* also, they inform us, was built with Stone and Brick, and the Houses had flat Roofs, with Battlements or Terrasses, like those of *Mexico*: That it was situated on four Eminencies, which were united and defended by a Stone-Wall: So well were these People vers'd in Architecture in those Days; and yet I do not find that there are any Towns in the Country now built of Brick or Stone, except those in Possession of the *Spaniards*. I proceed therefore, in the last place, to describe the Towns there are in *Mexico* at this Day, inhabited by such *Indians* as are not come into the *Spanish* Modes of Building, with the Form of their Houses and their Furniture.

Indian Towns. Even those *Indians*, that have submitted to the *Spaniards*, and embraced their Religion (if they have not intermarried with them, and are not Inhabitants of their great Towns) live in thatch'd Cottages, and observe very little Regularity in laying out their Streets; their Houses neither stand contiguous, or in any Order, but are dispersed here and there, as in our Villages, every one having his separate Plantation; only they have one common Guard-house, or Fort, situate on an Eminence, whither they resort on the Approach
of

of an Enemy, or when they assemble in Council. Mexico.

They never lay any deep Foundations; their Houses stand in a manner upon the Surface of the Ground: They set up small Posts, seven or eight Foot high, two or three Foot asunder; and, having splinter'd up the Intervals, cover them with Clay: The Roof is made like that of an ordinary Barn, and cover'd usually with Palmeto Leaves: The Length of the Building is about four and twenty Foot, and half as broad as it is long: The Fire-hearth is in the middle of the House, and they have a Hole over it to let out the Smoak, but no Chimneys: They build but one Floor, and have no Partitions; all the House is but one Room: Instead of Beds they use Hammocks, which are hung up on the principal Beam, from one End to the other of the House; nor have they any other Seats or Tables, but Blocks of Wood: Their Furniture consists of Pots and Pans, and other Kitchen Utensils, with Calabashes or Gourds of an uncommon Size to hold their Liquor; and their Arms, Bows, Arrows, Launces, Darts, and Quivers, with their Tools, are hung round the Cottage as Ornaments.

Their Guard-house is about an hundred and thirty Foot long, and five and twenty broad; the Walls nine or ten Foot high, and the Top of the Roof about twenty Foot in Height, and thatch'd with Palmeto Leaves, as the private Houses are; but they have narrow Loop-holes on the Sides, from whence they can annoy an Enemy with their Arrows. These Houses, as has been observed, are generally situated on an Eminence; and the Ground is cleared

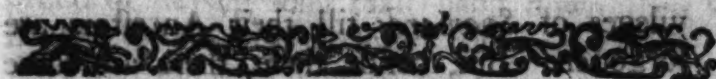
Mexico. cleared of Wood and Shrubs for a good Space about them, that an Enemy may find no Shelter from their Arrows, or any Place to lie concealed. They have strong Doors to defend the Entrance to these Houses, but the Spaniards, it seems, easily burn down these little Fortresses, by shooting flaming Arrows into the Thatch.

cover them with Clay: The House is built of an ordinary Beam, and covered usually with Palmetto Leaves: The Length of the Building is about four and twenty Foot, and half as broad as it is long: The Fire-places are in the middle of the House, and they have a Hole over it to let out the Smoke, but no Chimneys: They build but one Room, and no Partitions: All the House is but one Room: Instead of Beds they use Hammocks, which are hung up on the sides of the Room, from one End to the other: They have the Blocks of any other Wood: They use Pots and Pans, and other common size to hold their Liquors, their Arms, Bow, Arrows, Spears, Darts, and Quivers, with their Tools, are hung round the Cottage as Ornaments.

Their Guard-houses are about an hundred and thirty Foot long, and five and twenty Foot wide: The Walls are of ten Foot high, and the Top of the Roof about twenty Foot in Height, and thatched with Palmetto Leaves, as the private Houses are, but they have narrow Look-holes, from whence they can see any an Enemy with their Arrows: These Houses, as has been observed, are generally situated on an eminence, and the Ground is cleared



mingled Breed of Negroes and Indians, whose Descendants are ever excluded from the Pri-



Commonwealth of Blacks, in several Parts of Mexico, that own no Subjection to the Spani-

CHAP. VI.

*Of the Persons and Habits of the Mexi-
cans; of their Genius and Temper;
Arts, Manufactures, Diet, Exercises,
and Diversions.*



HERE is at present a great Va-
riety of Inhabitants in Mexico, viz.

1. The native *Indians*; 2. The *Spaniards*, and other *Europeans*; 3. The Descendants of the *Spaniards* unmix'd, who are called *Creols*; 4. The *Mestices*, or *Mesties*, the Issue of a *Spaniard* and an *American*; 5. The *Pine Mesties*, the Issue of such Issue; 6. The *Terceroons dez Indies*, the Children of the last, intermarried with pure *Spaniards*; 7. The *Quarteroons dez Indies*, whose Posterity are allowed the same Privileges as pure *Spaniards*. The *Blacks* also are pretty numerous, having been carried over to the *Indies* from *Africa*, and by one means or other obtained their Freedom. The Issue of a *Spaniard* (or other *European*) by one of these Female *Negroes*, is called a *Mulattoe*: The Descendants of these also are called *Mulattoes*, tho' again intermarried with *Spaniards*, and as white as the *Spaniards* themselves; and can never enjoy the Privileges of *Spaniards*, unless they can conceal their Descent, which they frequently do, by removing from the Place of their Nativity. And there is also a

Mexico.

The various Inhabitants of Mexico.

Mexico. mingled Breed of *Negroes* and *Indians*, whose Descendants are ever excluded from the Privileges of *Spaniards* till their Ancestors are forgotten. But, beside these, there are some Commonwealths of *Blacks*, in several Parts of *Mexico*, that own no Subjection to the *Spaniards*: These were constituted out of the *Negroes* that run away from their Masters into the Woods and Mountains; and, at length, became so formidable, that the *Spaniards* were forced to enter into Treaties with them, and grant them their Liberties, and permit them to be govern'd. by their own Magistrates, on condition they would put a Stop to their Depredations.

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Indians.

I proceed, in the next place, to describe the Persons and Habits of the native *Mexicans*.

The *Indians*, I find, are generally of a middle Stature, and their Complexions a deep Olive, darker than that of the *Portuguese*. The Men have strait clean Limbs, are big-bon'd, and well-shap'd; scarce a crooked or deform'd Person is to be found among them: They are nimble and active, and run very swiftly. The Women are moderately fat, and well-shap'd; and the Faces, both of Men and Women (who have not taken Pains to alter the natural Shape) are round: Their Eyes large, either black or grey, lively and sparkling: Their Foreheads are high; their Noses short; the Mouth of a moderate Size; their Lips thin; their Chins and Cheeks well proportion'd; and all of them have fine Sets of Teeth: The Features both of Men and Women generally good.

In the wearing their Hair, which is always black, they differ very much; in some Places the Men wear it short, and the Women long; and

and in others it is just the reverse: Some are proud of having long Hair hang down their Backs; others wear it short, just below their Ears, and some tie it up behind; but all agree in suffering no Hair to remain upon them, unless the Hair of their Heads, and over their Eyes; the rest is pull'd off with Tweezers as soon as ever it appears, which is the Business of the old Women it seems: Inasmuch, that the *Spaniards* did not find a Beard in the Country, or any Hair below the Waist, when they arrived among them. There are some Nations of *Indians* that take abundance of Pains to render their Countenances deform'd; they do not only flat the Noses of their new-born Infants, but so press and squeeze their Heads between two Boards, that they make them perfectly flat; while others endeavour to mould their tender Sculls into the Shape of a Sugar-loaf; And there are scarce any of them but disfigure their Faces and Bodies with Paint, and rub themselves over with Oil or Fat. They begin to anoint and paint their Children very young, and the Women are the Operators: The Colours they chiefly affect are a lively red, blue or yellow; and sometimes they make the Figures of Men, Beasts, Birds, or Plants, on every Part of the Body, but chiefly on the Face: They draw these Figures on the Skin with wooden Pencils, gnaw'd at the End to the Softness of a Brush; renewing the Paint from Time to Time, till the Colours are fix'd. But the Way they often take to render the Figures lasting and indelible, is by pricking the Skin with a Thorn till the Blood follows, and then rubbing the Paint in with their Hands. Some Nations of *Mexicans*, when they go to the Wars, paint their Faces red, and their

Mexico. Bodies with other Colours, according to their several Fancies; but this is usually wash'd off at Night, and renew'd every Morning.

The Habits of the Indians.

As to their Habits, most of the *Mexican* Nations wear some Habit or other; but there are *Indians* that go perfectly naked. *Gimelli* relates, that he saw some of the *Chichimecas*, when he was at *Mexico*, who had no Part of their Bodies covered, but their Nudities; all the rest of the Body was naked, and stain'd with several Colours; That their Faces were streak'd with black Lines, made by pricking the Skin, and rubbing in the black Liquor; That some of these wore Stags Sculls on their Heads with the Horns on; others had a Lion's, a Tyger's, or a Wolf's Head upon their own, fasten'd about their Necks with Part of the Beast's Skin: These are worn as Triumphs of their Victories over those Animals. But they are ambitious of nothing so much as of killing a *Spaniard*, that they may fix his Head on their own, and triumph in the Destruction of their most dreaded Enemy.

There is another Nation in *Veragua*, where the Men cloath nothing but the *Penis*, which the inferior People wrap up in a Leaf, and those of better Quality inclose in a Case of Gold or Silver, of the Fashion of a Cone or Extinguisher, and adorn it with Jewels, letting the *Scrotum* hang uncover'd in full View: But even these People, on Festivals and other solemn Occasions, have a white or black Cotton Garment, like a Plowman's Frock, that reaches down to their Heels; and if an *European* gives them a Shirt, or any other Cloathing, they immediately put it on, and reckon themselves very fine. But if they have no Cloaths, they seldom want Ornaments for the

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1. A King or Chief
2. His Lady
3. Attendants

THE INDIANS Marching on
a Visit or to a Feast

4 The Lip piece
5 the Nose ring
6 the Cone

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the Face, Ears, and Neck, besides the painting of their Skins, already mentioned. The Men have always a thin Plate of Gold or Silver, hanging over their Lips, of an oval Figure, and a Piece being cut out of the upper Side, it is almost of the Form of a Crescent; the Points whereof gently pinch the Bridle of the Nose and fasten it on; the Middle of this Plate is about the Thickness of a Guinea, and grows gradually thinner towards the Edges. This is the Size of the Plate they wear when they assemble in Council, or at a Festival; but they have one much less, that does not reach their Lips, which they wear at other Times.

The Women, instead of a Plate, wear a Ring of the like Size, which goes through the Bridle of the Nose, and by its Weight sometimes draws it down to the Mouth. Both Men and Women, lay the larger Ornaments aside while they are eating at an Entertainment, and then put them on again, and the lesser sort do not hinder their eating. Their great Men also wear two Gold-plates, of the Shape of an Heart, a Span long, at each Ear, being fasten'd to it by a Gold-ring, which stretches the Ear to an immoderate Size, and occasion'd Columbus to give this Province the Name of *The Country of Ears*. They also wear a kind of Coronet or Bandage of Gold or Silver about their Heads, eight or nine Inches broad, and indented on the upper Side; others have only a Bandage of Cane painted red, stuck round with beautiful Feathers standing upright. And almost all the *Indians* of both Sexes, wear Strings or Chains of Beads, Teeth, Shells, and other Toys, hanging from the Neck down to their Breasts. Every Person almost has three or four hundred of these Chains

Mexico.

Chains on, and the larger and heavier they are, the more ornamental; the meanest Woman, when she is dress'd, has fifteen or twenty pound Weight of these Strings, some carry thirty, and the Men as much more: But these are worn only at Festivals, and on solemn Occasions. The Women carry the Men's Ornaments in Baskets on their Shoulders to their Assemblies, where they put them on, and will dance with that Weight about them: The Women, besides their Ear-rings and Necklaces, have some of them Bracelets of the same Materials on their Arms.

Habits of
the ancient
Mexicans.

As to the *Mexicans*, that liv'd in Towns, when the *Spaniards* arriv'd there, they had most of them some Cloathing, altho' those that inhabited the Country, had little or no Cloathing, any more than they have at this Day. What the general Habit of the *Mexicans* was, when the *Spaniards* first came among them, I don't find any where particularly describ'd. They tell us indeed, that *Monteguma* the Emperor, when he met *Cortez* at his Entrance into *Mexico*, had on a Robe of fine painted Cotton Linen, that trail'd upon the Ground, and was cover'd in a manner with glittering Jewels and precious Stones; that he wore a Crown of Gold, in Form of a Mitre, had Shoos of hammer'd Gold, and a kind of *Roman* Buskin about his Legs.

The *Spaniards* also relate, that the High-Priest wore on his Head a Crown of beautiful Feathers of various Colours with golden Pendants, enrich'd with Emeralds at his Ears, and that he was cloath'd in a Vest, and a fine scarlet Robe over it; and in the Pictures they have given us of the Priests, it appears, they had Sandals on their Feet, but their

their Legs were bare, which makes it reasonable to believe, that the generality of the People, even in their capital City, wore neither Stockings or Shoos, if the rest of their Bodies were cloath'd; and in other Pictures they have given us the upper Part of the Body naked.

I proceed in the next place to shew, how the *Indians* are cloath'd, that live in the *Spanish* Towns, or are under their Government; and these *Gemelli Careri* informs us, wear a short Waistcoat and wide Breeches, with a short Cloak of various Colours over all, and some of them have Sandals on their Feet, but go bare-leg'd; that the Women wear a Waistcoats of Cotton Linen, over which they have a Frock or Shift, and a strait Petticoat of various Colours, and when they go abroad have another Cloth wrapped about them.

That the *Mestige*, *Mulatto* and *Black* Women, who make the greatest part of the *Mexican* Women, not being allow'd to wear Veils, or cloath themselves after the *Spanish* Fashion, and despising the *Indian* Habit, go in an extravagant Dress, wearing a kind of Petticoat about their Shoulders, like a Cloak. Mr. *Dampier* relates, that the Country *Indians*, who are civiliz'd, in some Provinces, wear a short Waistcoat and Breeches, and have a Palm-leaf for a Hat, which is their Holiday-dress; that they have no Shoos or Stockings, nor do they wear so much as a Waistcoat on Working-days; that the Women have a Cotton Linen Petticoat, and a kind of Frock, that reaches down to their Knees, the Bosom whereof is open and finely work'd; that they tie their Hair up in a Knot behind, and in this Dress think themselves very fine. He does not inform

Mexico. inform us, whether they have any other Covering for their Heads, besides their Hair.

The Genius of the Mexicans.

As to the Genius and Temper of the *Mexicans*, it seems, there is a wide Difference between what they were when the *Spaniards* arrived amongst them, and what we find them to be at this Day: They are far from being improv'd either in Arts or Morals. The first Adventurers inform us, that they were a wonderful ingenious People, inoffensive and hospitable; and, except in the Matter of human Sacrifices, and their idolatrous Worship, which their Superstition requir'd, there was very little Reformation wanting; nay, we are assur'd, that the generality of the People detested these Sacrifices, and were weary of their Superstition.

Good Artificers.

It appears, they were no mean Artificers in Painting, Statuary and Building. That they us'd both the Pencil, and the beautiful Feathers of Birds, in drawing and forming of Pictures, and without any manner of Iron Tool, hew'd out vast Pillars and Slabs of Marble out of the Rock, and polish'd them, as they did several precious Stones and Jewels; that they made Arms, defensive and offensive; wrought Mines of Gold, Silver and Copper, melted and separated these Metals, and afterwards wrought them into Plates and Vessels, and all this, as has been observ'd, without being acquainted with Iron. We find also, that they built great Towns, remov'd Stones of prodigious Size, from Place to Place; and yet had no Horses, Oxen, or other Cattle for Draught, but all their Carriages were drawn by Men. They had also Images of Gold and Silver, Wood and Stone, and yet not an Iron Tool to work with. And how they did carve and engrave,

engrave, paint and build, remains very much a Secret to us. The *Spaniards* were so intent upon plundering their Gold and Silver, that they neglected to make proper Observations on these Articles; at least, they did not think fit to transmit these Matters to Posterity: We have only lame and imperfect Accounts of the Arts and Manufactures of the *Indians*; we only know, that there were magnificent Buildings, Images, Pictures, Vessels, and Utensils of Gold, Silver, Earth, and Wood; but how they form'd them without the help of Iron Tools is, in a great measure, a Mystery to us. We know, indeed, that sharp Flints served them instead of Axes, Knives, and Swords: That with these they form'd the Edges of these Tools; but how they could grave or carve their hardest Stones with such Instruments, is past my Apprehension; and, tho' I don't suppose they excelled, or even equalled the *Europeans* in Building, Carving, or Painting; yet it shews a vast Genius and uncommon Application, that they were able, in such Circumstances, and with no better Instruments, to perform any thing of this kind.

It may be objected here, perhaps, that if the *Indians* were such ingenious Artists two or three hundred Years ago, it is strange that there is now none of them left. To which I answer, as to the Matter of Fact, that they had such Buildings, Images, Pictures, and Utensils, is averred and confirmed by the concurrent Testimony of many Thousands of Eye-witnesses, and was never controverted or denied by any Adventurer or Traveller that has visited those Countries. And there are sufficient Reasons to be given for the Neglect and Disuse of these Arts at this Day: In the first

Mexico.

place, the *Spaniards*, under pretence of Zeal for destroying the Temples and Idols of the *Mexicans*, but, in reality, that none of the Gold and Silver, and other Treasures of the *Mexicans* might be concealed from them, pull'd down and demolish'd every Town where these Arts flourish'd, and most of the People of those Towns leaving scarce any Remains of their Antiquities. 2. They reduc'd the Natives to the most abject Slavery, compelling those they left alive, to work in the Mines, and supply the Place of Beasts of Burthen; by which means they destroyed more of them than they had done by the Sword, and entirely discourag'd the rest from attempting to preserve or improve any Art or Science amongst them: And 3. since the *Europeans* possess'd themselves of those Countries, and have been provided with all manner of Tools and Instruments to perform these Things in a better manner than the *Indians* could be supposed to do under so many Disadvantages; it is no wonder, that the Natives neglected the Working in that manner they were used to before, and threw away their Country Tools and Implements, for those which were so much better adapted to the Purposes above-mention'd.

As to the Virtues of the ancient *Mexicans*, they do not seem to have been defective either in Point of Temperance, Fortitude, or military Skill: Both their Policy and Stratagems were admirable, considering the Disadvantages under which they labour'd; and that they had an Enemy to oppose, vers'd in the modern Arts of War, possess'd of Gunpowder, Artillery, Arms, Armour and Horses,

which

which the *Indians* had never seen or heard of *Mexico*.
till then.

The principal Manufacture of the ancient *Mexicans* was Cotton Linen, which they spun and wove, and afterwards painted with the Figures of Men, Animals, Trees, Flowers, &c. These they always made fit and proportionable for the Uses they design'd them, and never cut any of their Linen. They used the Sinews of Animals instead of Thread, and Bones instead of Needles. The Feather Manufacture also was very great: They stripp'd and plunder'd every feather'd Animal, to make their Pictures, and adorn their Houses or their Persons. Architecture also must be deem'd another of their Arts in Towns, and almost every Man made his own Arms. They had no other Vessels upon the Water in their Seas, Lakes or Rivers, but Canoes or Perriagoes, which only differ in their Dimensions. They are both of them made out of the Body of a Tree, and carry from three Men to threescore. They first hew'd one Side of the Tree flat with their flint Hatchets, and then burnt it hollow with Coals, smooth'd it, and form'd the Ends something like a Boat, which they push'd along with small flat Staves, but knew nothing of either Sails or Oars. These kind of Vessels are found very useful to this Day, and they have now a much easier Way of framing them, by the Help of *European* Tools. Their Skill in Physick, their Diseases and Methods of Cure, will be treated of under another Head.

I proceed, in the next place, to shew how the modern *Mexicans* are degenerated from their Ancestors. *Gemelli Careri* relates, that the present *Mexicans* are cowardly and cruel:

The *Mexicans* degenerated.

Mexico.

That they have no Sense of Honour, are drown'd in Vice, and die without any Concern or Apprehensions of Futurity; but seems to intimate, that the hard Usage of the *Spaniards* is the Occasion of this Change: For he says, they make them work in their Mines, and treat them worse than Slaves; nay, that they suffer the *Negro* Slaves to abuse and insult them; and, if they happen to get any thing by their Labour, the rapacious *Spanish* Governors and Officers take it from them: And it is no wonder that this Usage has made them perfectly careless; for to what purpose should a Man labour for what he can never possess securely? or why should he be concern'd at dying, when it relieves him from something worse than Death? But *Gemelli* adds, that the *Mulatto's* in *Mexico*, which are the most numerous Body of People in that City, are still worse than the *Indians*, greater Cheats and Thieves than the former; and, in short, that there is not one honest, fair-dealing Man in an hundred amongst them: Nor does *Gemelli* give the *Spaniards* themselves, that reside in that City, a better Character. For he says, he saw four hundred *Spaniards* brought before a Court of Justice there, for Theft, at one time: That they are many of them idle, slothful Vagabonds, and turn Sharpers to get a Livelihood; and that it is almost impossible for a Stranger to escape being robb'd by them. Whether the *Mestizes* or mixed Breed have better Morals, he does not inform us; but surely there must be some of better Principles amongst them, or it would be impossible for the Government to subsist long. Thus much, however, may be concluded from the Relations of all Travellers, that the present Inhabitants

habitants of *Mexico*, of what Nation, Tribe, or Denomination soever, are more vicious and effeminate than the *Indians* which the *Spaniards* found there, and might be beaten out of that Country with as much Ease almost as the ancient *Spaniards* made that Conquest, if they were not to be supported or reinforced from *Europe*.

I come, in the next place, to enquire into the Character of the *Indians* in the open Country, that do not live in Towns, and have still preserved their Liberties, of which there are yet great Numbers; and many more that only obey them occasionally, when they happen to reside in the Neighbourhood of the *Spanish* Towns, or are oblig'd to yield a forced Obedience when the *Spanish* Troops are amongst them. These, *Dampier* and other late Adventurers inform us, are People of great Humanity, still brave, generous, active, and unacquainted with the sordid Vices of those that live in Towns, whom the *Europeans* have corrupted. *Dampier*, in his Second Volume, Part II. p. 115, says of the *Indians*, they are an inoffensive People, kind to Strangers, and even to the *Spaniards*, who use them worse than Slaves, when they get them into their Power; those of the open Country spending great part of their Time in Hunting, Shooting, or Fishing, as the Ancients did: Every Man builds his own House, and makes his own Arms, Tools and Implements of Husbandry. They cultivate but little Ground, planting just enough *Indian* Corn, Roots and Fruit, to serve the Necessities of the Family; and these Plantations are the Business of the Women altogether, after the Men have cleared the Ground. The Women

Genius of the *Indians* that have preserved their Liberties.

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Women also spin, and weave their Cotton Linen. They do all the Household Business; and, what is still harder upon them, they carry the Baggage upon a March, and serve their Husbands instead of Porters and Pack-horses; and that with all imaginable Chearfulness and Alacrity. They are never known to murmur or speak disrespectfully to their Husbands: Nor is a Man ever heard to give his Wife any hard ill-natur'd Language. On the contrary, they are admir'd by our People for the mutual Love and Kindness that seems to reign in their Families: But more of this under the Head of Marriage.

The Diet
and Exercises
of the
Indians.

I proceed, in the next place, to treat of their Diet, Exercises, Festivals and Diversions, which will discover more of the Temper and Disposition of these *Indians*, who still enjoy their Liberties. Their principal Food is either *Indian Corn*, parch'd and ground into Flour, and made into thin Cakes; Fruit, particularly Plantains, Roots, and sometimes Fish, wild Hogs, Deer, or other Venison. They go out a hunting and shooting frequently in Companies a Week or a Fortnight for Food, every Man carrying with him his Bow and Arrows, or a Gun, if he can procure one, a Spear, a Hatchet, and a long Knife. Each Man also takes a Dog or two with him to beat for Game. Some Women also go with them to carry their Provisions, namely roasted Plantains, Bonanoes, Yams, Potatoes, and the Flour of *Cassavi* Roots, which will be describ'd hereafter. They carry also in their Baskets parch'd *Indian Corn* ground to Flour, with Calabashes or Gourds for their Drink, and Pipkins to dress their Food. The Beasts they hunt,
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are chiefly *Pecary* or *Warree* (two sorts of Mexico. ) wild Hogs peculiar to *America*) and they meet with great Variety of Fowls. They lodge at Night wherever they happen to be at Sunset, chusing to be near some River and on the Brow of a Hill, if they can find such a Situation. They hang up their Hammocks between the Trees, and have scarce any other Covering, but a Plantain-leaf, only they make a Fire near their Hammocks; they begin their Hunting again at Sun-rise the next Morning; their Game, the *Pecary* and *Warree*, are not swift of foot, and usually go together in Drovers of two or three hundred; but sometimes they hunt a whole Day without meeting any: When the Beast is tired or wounded, he will stand at bay with the Dogs, till the Master comes up and shoots him; after which, the *Indian* strikes his Spear into the Creature to let out the Blood, embowels it, and cuts the Beast in two Pieces, carrying them on a Stick laid cross his Shoulder, to the Place where they have appointed their Women to meet them; here they cut off the Head of the Hog, quarter and flea it. What they intend to preserve, they dry upon a wooden Grate (which is call'd a *Barbacue*) making a Fire of Wood-coals under it; this they renew for three or four Days, or a Week, till the Meat is as dry as a Chip, and the Pieces will keep a great while. The Men are so good as to assist the Women to carry the Venison home, when they have a great deal of it; and when their Stock of Provisions is almost spent, they go out again to look for more.

As to their Cookery, whether their Flesh is dried or fresh killed, they cut it into small Pieces, and throw it into a Pipkin, adding some

Mexico.

some Roots, green Plantains, or other Fruits, with a great deal of Pepper, stewing them together seven or eight Hours, and not suffering them to boil; this reduces all the Ingredients to a Pulp or Hotch-potch, and is for their Set-meal at Noon. When it is poured out into an Earthen-dish or Calabash, and being set upon a Wooden-block, that serves them for a Table, they sit round it on lesser Blocks, every one having a Calabash of Water standing by him on the Ground, into which they frequently dip their Fingers while they are eating (these Calabashes, or Gourds, serve them for Bottles, and, when they are cut in half, for Bowls, Basons, or Drinking-cups.) They have seldom more than one Set-meal, but they eat Plantains and other Fruit, raw or roasted, almost all Day long. They have also the Flour of *Indian* Wheat, or of the *Cassavi* Root, with which they sometimes make a kind of Gruel, or else make into Paste, and bake as hard as Biscuit; and either the Flour or Biscuits made of it, they have always by them, especially when they are on a Journey, or in Hunting; these serving them both for Meat and Drink, mix'd with Water and Fruit, when they want more substantial Food.

There is scarce any Flesh, Fish, or Fowl, but what the Natives of *Mexico* eat either stew'd or barbacued, that is, broil'd over a wooden Grate, or upon the Coals; and I don't perceive they use either Knives, Forks, or Spoons, in eating; but take up the stew'd Hotch-potch with their Right-hand, and fill their Mouths with it; and the broil'd Flesh they tear off the Bones with their Teeth, unless those, that have learn'd better of the *Europeans*,

ropeans, and conform themselves to *Spanish* Mexico. Customs. Every thing they eat is high-season'd with Pepper, and Salt too, if they can get it; but, as Salt is scarce in many Places, they are content with stroaking their Meat upon a Lump of Salt, before they put it into their Mouths.

As to Chocolate, this serves both for Meat and Drink, in almost every Province of *Mexico*, both among the civiliz'd and barbarous *Indians*, if they can get it; but this is so much us'd by the *Spaniards*, and so much of it exported to *Europe*, that it is pretty scarce among the *Forest Indians*.

They have a great Variety of Liquors. The readiest and most ordinary Drink is Water, with the Flower of *Indian* Corn infused in it, and drunk off presently. This, *Dampier* says, the Natives call *Posole*, and the *English* *Poor Soul*, because it just serves to keep them alive on a March, when they can get no other Provision.

Against an Entertainment, they frequently steep twenty or thirty Baskets of *Indian* Corn, and after the Water is impregnated, the Women chew more of the same Corn and spit into it, which ferments and works the Liquor like Yeast; and when it has done working, they draw the Liquor clear off, and it proves very intoxicating, but tastes pretty much like sour small Beer.

Mislaw is another Liquor, and of this they have two sorts; one made of Plantains fresh gather'd, and the other of dried ones; the first they roast, and pilling off the Rind, mash them in a Bowl of Water till they are dissolved, and then drink the mixt Liquor; the other is made of Cakes, or Lumps of

Mexico.

Plantains dry'd over a slow Fire ; this they carry with them on Journies, and drink it, dissolv'd in Water. Green and half-ripe Plantains they also eat instead of Bread, boiling or roasting them first, as they do also Yams and Potatoes. The *Cassavi* Root, already mention'd, of which the *Indians* make Bread, is first boiled and squeez'd, then dried, ground and made into Paste for Biscuit ; and tho' this kind of Bread is very wholesome, when it is thus cook'd, yet if it be eaten before it is boiled, and the Juice squeez'd from it, it is rank Poison. As for green Herbs and Salads, I don't find the *Indians* of the open Country eat any. As their Pine-apples are one of the most delicious Fruits of *America*, an Infusion of these is one of their beloved Liquors ; and indeed they make Drink of all manner of Fruits almost, as well as Grain, adding Honey to them at their Entertainments. But as to Wine, their Country affords none ; for their Grapes will not ripen kindly in the rainy Season, and the Heats at other Times make the Liquor sour ; and this is the reason, that scarce any Countries between the Tropics afford good Wine.

Their
Feasts.

The *Indians* scarce undertake any Business of Consequence, without making an Entertainment. If they propose entering into a War, either with the *Spaniards*, or any *Indian* Nation ; their Chiefs are summon'd to a Consultation, where they eat and drink plentifully, before they enter on their Debates. A Hunting-match, which lasts usually some Weeks, is preceded also by a Drunken-bout. At Weddings, and other joyful Occasions, they have their Feasts, where they continue drinking two or three Days, till all the Liquor

quor is out : And, as they are very quarrelsome in their Drink, the Master of the House always secures their Arms before they begin to be merry ; for they never go without their Arms, if it be but to next Door : They usually get exceeding drunk, insomuch that they can neither stand nor go ; and, having slept till they have recover'd their Senses, they move off.

The Men, it seems, drink to one another at Meals, as the *Europeans* do ; but never to the Women ; the Women always stand by, and wait upon their Husbands, while they are eating and drinking, serving them with Liquor ; and, even when they are at home, the Wife does not eat till the Husband has done : But the Females feast, and are as merry as the Men among themselves : They are not afraid of being very drunk neither, 'tis said.

However, till their Husbands are recovered, they take care to keep sober ; and, when they perceive the Men overcome with Liquor, they will take them up, and put them into Hammocks, waiting on them, and sprinkling them with Water, till they are in a Condition to return home.

Nothing is more universally drank in the City of *Mexico* itself, and in such Towns as are under the Dominion of the *Spaniards*, than Chocolate. *Gemelli* informs us, that to every Pound of the Cocoa-nut the *Europeans* add a Pound of Sugar, and an Ounce of Cinnamon ; but that neither the *Spaniards* there, nor the *Indians*, use any *Venella* in it, looking upon them as unwholesome : But to every Pound of Cocoa they add two Ounces of the Flour of *Indian Corn*, to make it froth. This Drink was not used by the *Indians* before the *Spaniards*

arrived

Mexico. arrived there. They distill a Spirit also from a Plant called *Magey*, which is very intoxicating, and so generally drank, that *Gemelli* tells us, the Excise of it came to eleven hundred thousand Pieces of Eight *per annum* in *Mexico*; that the *Indians* committed such Outrages, when they were intoxicated with this Liquor, that it was prohibited for a Time; but, while he was at *Mexico*, Orders came from the King of *Spain* to take off the Prohibition; and both *Europeans* and *Indians* now drink it again.

I must not forget, that the *Indians* smoak as well as drink, since it was from them we first learnt the Use of Tobacco about two hundred Years ago; but what the Natives plant is not so good as that the *English* plant and cure in *Virginia*: They neither understand, nor will take the Pains to cultivate it as our People do; and, if they taught us to take Tobacco, we taught them to improve it, and the Use of Pipes; for the way they smoak'd it, was by lighting one End of a Roll they made with the Leaf, and holding the other End of the Roll in their Mouths; and, when it was half burnt out, they threw the remainder away: Others contented themselves with the Smell of the Tobacco. A Boy, having lighted one End of the Roll, went round the Company, and blew it in their Faces; and this is done in some of the Provinces of *Mexico* by the Natives to this Day.

Exercises
and Diver-
sions.

Their principal Exercises, or rather Employments, as has been touch'd already, are hunting, shooting, and fishing; for these they are in a manner forced into, in order to make Provision for their Families. Every Man breeds up his Son to these Exercises; and they are so dexterous at them while they are Children,

dren, that a Boy of eight Years of Age, 'tis Mexico. said, will split a Cane set up at twenty Yards distance with his Bow and Arrow, and hit a Bird flying. But the most dextrous People are the *Mosquito Indians*, Natives of the Province of *Honduras*, as all Travellers relate. *Dampier* says, these People are tall, well-made, strong and nimble: That they are long visag'd, have lank black Hair, a stern Look, are hard-favour'd, and of a dark Copper Complexion: That they are bred to throw the Lance, Harpoon and Dart, and draw the Bow, from their Infancy; and that they will put by and parry any of these missive Weapons thrown at them, with a small Cane, not bigger than a Gun-stick, tho' the Arrows and Darts fly very thick. These People inhabit on the Sea-shore, or the Banks of Rivers; and their principal Employment is to strike Fish, particularly the *Manatee* and *Tortoise*: The *Manatee* is what the Ancients called the *Sea-horse*, an amphibious Animal, that lives in the Salt-water, but eats Weeds and Grass on Shore like a Cow; and from thence, and from its Size and Figure, is frequently called the *Sea-cow*. The *English* Privateers and Buccaneers, that cruise on the *Mexican* Coast, have usually one or two of these *Mosquito* Men on Board, to strike *Manatee*, *Tortoise*, and other Fish; and they will take and kill Fish enough to maintain a Ship's Crew of an hundred Men. When they serve the *English*, they learn the Use of Guns, and are exceeding good Marksmen. They are found also very brave and daring in Fight, and will never flinch or give back, while they are supported by the Party that entertains them.

They

They have conversed so long with the *English*, who frequently bring them to *Jamaica*, that they will not acknowledge the Dominion of the *Spaniard*, and frequently declare, they will have no other Sovereign, but the King of *England*; nor have the *Spaniards* ever been able to subdue these, and many other Nations, that inhabit *Mexico*. While they are at *Jamaica*, and among the *English*, they wear the same kind of Cloaths, and delight to be neat and clean; but when they return to their own Country, they put off all their Cloaths, and conform to their Country Fashion again, wearing only a small Piece of Linen tied round their Waists. But to return to the Exercises and Diversions of the *Indians*, from whence the Dexterity of the *Mosquito* Men has led me.

They have their Dances, and their Musick too, such as it is, wooden Drums of the Form of a Kettle-drum, and a kind of Pipes or Flagelets, made of a Cane or Reed, but very grating to an *European* Ear. 'Tis observ'd, they love every thing that makes a Noise, how disagreeable soever the Sound is; they will also hum over something like a Tune, when they dance; but I don't find they delight in Songs and Ballads, as some other unpolish'd People do. They dance thirty or forty in a Circle, stretching out their Hands, and laying them on each other's Shoulders: They stamp and jump, and use the most antick Gestures for several Hours, till they are heartily weary; and one or two of the Company sometimes step out of the Ring to make Sport for the rest, shewing Tricks, and Feats of Activity, throwing up their Lances into the Air, catching

catching them again, bending backwards and springing forwards with great Agility ; and, when they are in a most violent Sweat, will frequently jump into the Water, without taking any manner of cold. And I should have remembered among their Exercises, that no Men swim or dive better than the native *Indians*. The Women have their Dances and Musick too, by themselves ; but never with the Men.

As to their religious Festivals, Musick and Dancing, these will be taken Notice of in the Chapter of *Religion*.





C H A P. VII.

Of the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards.

Mexico.
The Con-
quest of
Mexico.



Have already given an Account of the Discoveries and Conquests, made by *Columbus*, and his Successors, in *Hispaniola*, *St. John de Porto Rico*, *Jamaica*, *Cuba*, and some other *American* Islands; as also of the Settlements made by *Vasco Nunes de Balboa*, on the Isthmus of *Darien* on the Continent, and his Discovery of the *South Sea* in the Year 1513. I shall proceed in this Chapter to give as just an Account of the Conquest of *Mexico*, as can be collected from that Variety of Authors, that have written on this Subject, whose Relations differing in many material Facts and Circumstances, it will demand a pretty deal of Attention to discover what may be relied on, and what ought to be treated as Fiction.

The Spaniards first Attempt on *Yucatan* defeated.

In the Year 1515, or 1516, *Francis Fernandez de Cordoua*, embarking at the Island of *Cuba* with an hundred and twenty Men, set sail for *Yucatan*, a Province of *Mexico*, where he made a Descent, and was about to have erected a Fort, in order to settle a Colony of *Spaniards* there: But he suffered himself to be surpriz'd by the *Indians*; and, having twenty Men kill'd, thirty more wounded, among

among whom was *Fernandez* himself, and two made Prisoners, the rest retired with some difficulty to their Ships, and returned to *Cuba*. However, those that escaped reporting that they saw great Plenty of Gold among the Natives, and imputing their Misfortune more to Accident, or the Unskilfulness of their Commander, than to the Courage of their Enemies; and offering to make a farther Attempt on the Continent of *Mexico*, where they gave out, that inconceivable Treasures were to be found; the Spaniards of *Cuba* appeared impatient to make another Experiment, and inform themselves whether there were really those Riches to be met with as had been reported. *Diego Velasquez* was at this Time Governor of the Island of *Cuba*, by the Appointment of *Don Diego Columbus*, or *Colon*, the second Admiral of the Indies, and Son of the celebrated *Columbus*, who first discover'd that new World; and, observing the Ardour his Soldiers express'd to engage in a fresh Enterprize against the Continent, he fitted out three Ships and a Brigantine, to make farther Discoveries, giving the Command of them to *John de Grijalva*, his near Relation, who set Sail from *Cuba* on the 8th of April 1518; and arriving at *Potónchan*, or *Champoton*, in *Yucatan*, where *Fernandez de Cordova* had been defeated, took a severe Revenge on the Natives, and then stood farther Westward, till he came to the Mouth of the River *Tobasco*, in the Gulph of *Mexico*. Here *Grijalva* landed, and formally took Possession of the Country for the Emperor *Charles V*, then King of *Castile*; letting the Indians know, by his Interpreters, that he and his People were the Subjects of a powerful Monarch, Lord of that Part of the World

Mexico.

Grijalva sent from *Cuba* to make farther Discoveries on the Continent.

Takes Possession of the Country for the King of *Spain*.

Mexico.

where the Sun rises, from whom he came to offer them Peace, if they would submit to his Dominion.

To this one of the Chiefs of the *Indians* answer'd, that they would consult their Superiors on the Offer of Peace, and return an Answer in a short time; but as to their becoming Vassals to a Prince they had never before heard of, it was not in their Power, as they were already subject to a Sovereign of their own; concluding, that they looked upon it as a very strange Demand, and then took their Leaves.

Offers the
Natives
Peace, who
accept it.

Some little time after, the same *Indians* returned, and acquainted the *Spaniards*, that their Caciques accepted their Offers of Peace; and that they had heard of the Defeat of their Neighbours of *Yucatan*, which had render'd the *Christians* very formidable. One of their principal Caciques also brought *Grijalva* a considerable Present, consisting of Plumes of Feathers of various Colours, Robes of Cotton Linen, adorn'd with the Figures of Animals of beaten Gold: For which *Grijalva* returned them such *European* Toys and Utensils as were most acceptable to them; and, having taken his Leave in a friendly manner, went on board his Ships again, continuing his Course still farther Westward, till he came to the

Trafficks
with them
for their
Gold.

Learns the
Greatness
of the
Mexican
Empire.

River of Flags, where the Natives inviting the *Spaniards* to land, brought them as much Gold as amounted to fifteen thousand *Peso's*; for which they took Knives, Hatchets, Combs, Beads, and Glass, in return. *Grijalva* afterwards visited the Port of *St. John de Ulva*, and from thence sailed as high as *Panuco*, the most northern Province of *Mexico* on that Side, trading with the People as he went, and understood

understood from them that they were subject to a Monarch called *Montezuma*, a Prince posses'd of a vast Empire, abounding in Gold, Silver, and rich Merchandize; with which acceptable Intelligence he returned to *Cuba*, having sent *Pedro de Alvarado* before him, with the Treasure he had acquired on the Coast of *Mexico*.

Mexico.

Grijalva returns to *Cuba*.

Diago Velasquez was infinitely rejoiced at the Discoveries that had been made by *Grijalva*, and immediately sent over to the Admiral at *Hispaniola*, and to the Court of *Spain*, to acquaint them with the Success of the Expedition; desiring that he might be made Viceroy of all the Countries he should conquer on the Continent. But, notwithstanding the great Service *John de Grijalva* had done, *Velasquez* was so exasperated that he had not made a Settlement in *Mexico*, that he laid him aside as an improper Instrument to be concerned in the reducing so mighty an Empire, as that of *Mexico* had been represented to him, and look'd out for a Person to command the Forces he was about to send thither, who had a Genius and Courage equal to so important an Enterprize; and, after much Deliberation, pitch'd upon the celebrated *Hernando* or *Fernando Cortez*, to command the small Army, with which he proposed to make an entire Conquest of that Continent.

Cortez made Captain-General against *Mexico*.

Hernando Cortez was born at *Medellin* in *Es-tramadura*, and was Son of *Martin Cortez* and *Donna Catalina Pizarro*, a Lady of noble Extraction. He was bred a Scholar, and two Years a Student in the University of *Salamanca*; but affecting a more active Way of Life, and particularly some military Employment, he embarked, in the Year 1504, for the Island

Some Account of him.

Mexico. of *Hispaniola*; and went from thence to *Cuba*, where he was very instrumental in the Conquest of that Island, and obtained a mighty Reputation for military Skill; and was, for his Services, made *Alcaide*, or chief Magistrate of *St. Jago*, the principal Town in the Island; which Post he possess'd when *Diego Velasquez* fixed upon him to command in the *Mexican Expedition*; *Cortez* having a little before married *Donna Catalina Suarez*, a young Lady of a noble Family in *Cuba*.

His Ri-
vals.

The Relations of *Diego Velasquez* envying *Cortez* the Honour of commanding in an Expedition that was like to be attended with a vast Acquisition of Wealth, as well as Glory, suggested to the Governor, that he could not have fixed upon a more ambitious or popular Man, who would soon have it in his Power, as he had it already in his Intentions, to renounce his Dependance on the Person that raised him, and set up for himself; which, at first, made but little Impression on *Velasquez*; but, observing at length with what Eagerness all the military Men of the Island crowded to be enrolled under the Standard of *Cortez*, he began to alter his Mind; and, tho' he had attended that General to the Sea-side, when he embarked, with all the Marks of Respect and Affection (on the 18th of November 1518) the Fleet was no sooner sailed, but he repented himself, and sent Orders to the *Havanna*, where they were to touch and take in Provisions and a farther Reinforcement of Troops, that the Fleet should not proceed in the Voyage till farther Orders; and that *Cortez* should return to him to *St. Jago*. But the Governor's Orders were not obey'd: The Soldiers were so transported with the Expectation of acquiring

Cortez is
recalled
by the Go-
vernor.

ring Mountains of Gold, and had such an ^{Mexico.} Opinion of the Valour and Conduct of their General, that they would not consent to the changing of him, or to the Delay of the Enterprize, lest their Hopes should be defeated; but agreed immediately to set Sail, contrary to the positive Orders of their Governor *Diego Velasquez*. The General and his Officers, his said, urged, in their Justification, that they had, by the Encouragement of the Governor, laid out their whole Estates in making Provision for this Expedition; and that if it should be now laid aside, or others employ'd in it, they should infallibly be ruined. Even *Diego de Ordaz*, and *John Velasquez de Leon*, the Governor's own Relations, declared against his Injustice in disappointing them, after they had embarked all their Friends and Fortunes, by his Command, in the Enterprize. It being agreed by all of them therefore to proceed in the Design forthwith, *Cortez*, with a Fleet of ten Ships, and between five and six hundred Soldiers, set Sail from the *Havanna* the 10th of February 1518-19, and arrived at the Island of *Cozumel*, near the Eastern Coast of *Yucatan*; where his Troops having plunder'd some Towns of the *Indians*, and even their Temples, and taken several Prisoners, *Cortez* shew'd his Displeasure at these Ravages, and order'd every thing they had taken to be restored, endeavouring to cultivate a good Correspondence with the People of the Island. It is related, that the *Spaniards* found in the Temples on this Island abundance of rich Jewels, that were employ'd in adorning the Images of their Gods; and some Instruments for Sacrifice, made of a Mixture of Gold and Copper: But, as it appeared afterwards, that all the Knives

But proceeds in the Enterprize notwithstanding.

He arrives at the Island of Cozumel,

Mexico. Knives and Edg'd-tools of the *Mexicans* were made of Flint, we cannot give entire Credit to this Part of the Relation,

The number of his Forces

Cortez, mustering his Forces in the Island of *Cozumel*, found them to consist of five hundred and eight Foot-Soldiers, sixteen Horse, and one hundred and nine Seamen and Mechanics; besides his two Chaplains, *John Diaz* the Licentiate, and Father *Bartholomew de Olmedo*, who accompanied him in the Expedition. The Writers of this History tell us, that the General made a Speech to his Forces at this Muster; wherein he said;

His Speech to them.

“ When he considered the good Fortune that
 “ had brought them to this Island, the Ob-
 “ stacles they had surmounted, and the Diffi-
 “ culties that opposed the Enterprize; he ac-
 “ knowledged the Hand of God in the Work
 “ they had undertaken, and promised himself
 “ Success from Beginnings so remarkably fa-
 “ voured by Divine Providence, in their Zeal
 “ for the Service of God and their King:
 “ That he should not lessen the Danger of
 “ the Undertaking; they must expect bloody
 “ Engagements, a multitude of Enemies, and
 “ incredible Fatigues; and they must propor-
 “ tion their Resolution to the Difficulty and
 “ Importance of the Enterprize: That they
 “ were but few in Number, but Union added
 “ Strength to Armies, and in a manner mul-
 “ tiplied their Forces; exhorting them to be
 “ all of one Mind, and resolve, as one Hand,
 “ to execute the Commands of their Leaders:
 “ As for his part, he should be ready to ha-
 “ zard his Life for the meanest Soldier, and
 “ would lead them, by his Example, to the
 “ Execution of his Orders; assuring them,
 “ that he found in himself a Spirit sufficient
 “ to

to undertake the Conquest of the World ; Mexico.
 and that this Hope inspired him with an
 extraordinary Impulse, the most promising
 of all Presages." Which Speech was re-
 ceived with the loud Acclamations of his
 Troops, who desired he would immediately
 lead them on to Action, and make an Expe-
 riment of their Affection and Zeal for the glo-
 rious Cause they were engaged in.

While Cortez remained in the Island of Co- A Spani-
ard ran-
som'd who
was Pri-
soner in
Yucatan.
 zumel, he was inform'd, by the principal Ca-
 cique, or Prince of the Country, that there
 were some Men in the neighbouring Province
 of Yucatan who had been Prisoners there se-
 veral Years, and much resembled the Spani-
 ards he had with him : Whereupon Cortez de-
 sired the Cacique to send some of his People
 with a Letter to those Prisoners, and a Present
 to the Prince in whose Power they were, for
 their Ransom ; which was done, and the In-
 dians returned to Cozumel, bringing with them
 Jeronimo de Aguilar, a Native of Spain, in
 Deacon's Orders. This Ecclesiastic related,
 that he had been near eight Years in Yucatan,
 whither he escaped in a Boat with several
 more, after they had been shipwreck'd in their
 Passage from Darien to Hispaniola : That it
 was his Fortune to fall into the Hands of a
 certain Cacique, who used him hardly for some
 time ; but afterwards advanced him to one of
 the best Posts in his Army ; and, by his Skill
 in military Affairs, the Cacique gained several
 Victories over his Enemies ; which had given
 Jeronimo a great Reputation in Yucatan ; inso-
 much, that when the Present came for his
 Ransom, the Cacique, in whose Service he was,
 very readily dismiss'd him. He added, that
 the Indians, he believed, had sacrificed the rest
 of

Mexico.

of his Company to their Gods: for he did not know that any of them were living at that Time, except *Gonzalo Guerrero*, to whom he had communicated the General's Letter, and endeavoured to bring him with him: but *Gonzalo* had married a rich *Indian* Wife, by whom he had three or four Children, and chose to remain with them in *Yucatan*, rather than leave them; which, if true, is a sufficient Confutation of those Writers, who relate, that the *Indians* sacrificed the rest of the *Spaniards*, who were shipwreck'd on the Coast of *Yucatan*, to their Gods: For can it be believ'd, that the only remaining *Spaniard*, if this had been true, would have chosen to remain in so barbarous a Country? Or that both he and *Jerom de Aguilar* should meet with such good Usage there?

But to return to the History: This *Spaniard* *Jerom* was of infinite Service to *Cortez* in this Expedition; for, having resided so long in the Country, he was perfectly acquainted with their Strength, their Way of making War, and with their Language; which enabled *Cortez* to make such Enquiries as were necessary to the Prosecution of the Conquest when he arrived at the Continent. He had two or three Slaves also presented to him by the Cacique of *Cozumel*, whom he order'd to be instructed in the *Spanish* Tongue. Before he left the Island, he express'd his Zeal against the Idolatry of the Natives, by breaking down their Idols; which does not seem very complaisant, after the hospitable Reception he met with from the Islanders, especially when the *Mexican* Priests protested and exclaimed against the Outrage, as the greatest that could be done to their People: And, after all, *Cortez* appears to have had no Aversion

He demonstrates the Images of the *Indians*

A version to Images in general; for the His-
tory relates, he erected a Temple to the Vir-
gin Mary, in which he left her Image and a
Cross, and required the Natives of Cozumel to
adore them; So that this great Conqueror and
Reformer only required they should exchange
their Idols for those of his own Country. But
to proceed,

The Forces being reembarked, Cortez took
Leave of the Island of Cozumel on the 4th of
March 1518-19; and, having doubled Cape
Catoch, the most easterly Promontory of Yu-
catan, continued his Voyage to the Mouth of
the River Tobasco (or Grijalva) in the Bay of
Campeachy; where he found the Indians in
great Numbers on the Shore, threatening to
oppose his Descent: Whereupon he sent Jerom
de Aguilar to them in a Boat, with a Flag of
Truce; acquainting them, that he was come
to confirm the Peace made with them the
Year before by Grijalva; and that if they re-
fused him a peaceable Entrance into their Coun-
try, he should land by Force. And, when they
still persisted to oppose his Descent, he fired
upon them with his Artillery and small Arms:
Whereupon they turn'd their Backs, and fled;
some of them to the Woods, and others to the
Town of Tobasco. After which, he landed his
Men without Opposition; but, being obliged to
pass through some Woods and Defiles, a Body
of the Enemy, who had concealed themselves
therein, surprized and wounded some of the
Spaniards with their Arrows; and Cortez, con-
tinuing his March till he came to the Town
of Tobasco, found it fortified with a kind of
wooden Wall, formed with the Bodies of
Trees fixed like Palisadoes, through the Inter-
vals whereof they shot their Darts and Ar-

Mexico.

Sets Sail
from Co-
zumel.

Cortez
lands at
Tobasco,
and gains
a Victory
over the
Natives.

Mexico.
He takes
the City.

rows: But his Men no sooner came up to the Works, and fired their Muskets through the Pallisadoes, than the Enemy retired to a large Square in the middle of the Town, where they made some Shew of defending themselves; but, upon the Approach of the *Spaniards*, they retired from thence also, and fled to their Friends in the Woods. And in all these Encounters, which the *Spaniards* represent as very bloody and obstinate, there were only fourteen or fifteen of them wounded, and no more than two of these died of their Wounds. I don't doubt that Part of the Relation, which informs us, that great Numbers of the Natives were killed; for it seems to have been a Maxim with *Cortez* to render himself as terrible to the *Mexicans* as possible, in order to facilitate the Conquest of their Country: But it cannot be supposed that the *Spaniards* met with any great Opposition, when in a Battle, wherein they engaged many Thousands, and stormed the Capital City of the Province, only two of their Men were killed; and indeed the Fire-Arms of the *Christians* were so very terrible to the *Indians*, who had never seen any thing of that kind till the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, that they could very seldom be brought to make a Stand within the Reach of them.

He obtains a second Victory.

But to return to the History: My Author *Don Antonio de Solis* relates, that the Day after the taking of *Tabasco*, the *Mexicans* assembled an Army of forty thousand Men, with which they attack'd the *Spaniards*; and that the Battle seem'd doubtful, till *Cortez* sallied out of a Wood, and charged them in Flank with his Horse; by which he obtained another complete Victory. The *Indians* are represented in this Battle as a very formidable Enemy, and

to have attack'd the *Spaniards* with that Bravery, that they were scarce able with their Fire Arms to repulse them: And this is related with a View, no doubt, to magnify the Courage and Conduct of *Cortez* and the *Christians*. They relate also, that *St. James* the Apostle appeared in the Battle, on a white Horse, and fought for the *Spaniards*; insinuating, that nothing less than a Miracle could have given them the Victory over the *Indians*: Whereas every one knows, and the *Spanish* Writers themselves confess in other Places, that the *Indians* durst never stand a regular Body of *Europeans*; but were in the utmost Consternation when they were attack'd with Fire-Arms or Horse, and especially when the Artillery thunder'd upon them, believing that the People they engaged were rather Gods than Men; and consequently there was very little Occasion for a Miracle, or indeed for much military Skill or Courage, to defeat an Enemy, when they had such Advantages on their Side. Even at this Day, now Fire-Arms are so well known, and used by every Nation almost, I don't doubt but a thousand Veteran Soldiers of *Europe*, attended by a Train of Artillery, would defeat an Army of an hundred thousand Men either in the *East* or *West-Indies*; the Writer of these Sheets having seen three hundred *Europeans* rout twenty thousand *Indians*, intrench'd up to the Teeth, who wanted neither Horse, Artillery or small Arms to defend themselves, and had the Courage to stand till they came to push of Pike and Bayonet. What then might we suppose a Body of Veteran Soldiers capable of effecting against a naked People, that had never seen a Horse, or heard of Gun-powder or Artillery, till they

Mexico. saw their Forces slaughter'd and tumbled upon Heaps by those murdering Pieces, a Mile almost before they approach'd them? The Success of *Cortez* and his *Spaniards* therefore is not to be wonder'd at; it was no more than might reasonably be expected, all Circumstances consider'd.

The Indians of *Tobasco* sue for Peace.

The Day after the Battle, *De Solis* relates, that the Cacique or Prince of *Tobasco* sent a solemn Embassy to *Cortez*, to implore Peace, attended with a Present of such Fruits and Provisions as his Country afforded, together with Jewels, Plumes, and painted Cotton Linen, and whatever he thought most acceptable to the Conquerors: That the Ambassadors approach'd *Cortez* as they used to do their Gods, with Golden Pans or Censers, in which they burnt Aromatic Gums, and other Incense: That the Cacique afterwards came in Person, and made his Submission, bringing with him twenty beautiful *Indian* Virgins, which he made *Cortez* a Present of: And one of these, whom the General afterwards caused to be baptized by the Name of *Donna Marina*, served him, it seems, during the whole Expedition, in the double Capacity of Concubine and Interpreter; for she was a Native of *Mexico*, a Female of ready Wit, and understood the Customs of the Country and the Language perfectly well; and indeed to her Merit and Address the *Spaniards* ascribe the Success of their Arms in a great measure. The Historian, however, takes an Opportunity, in this place, to admire the Virtue and Piety of his Hero, *Cortez* following in this the Precedent set him by the Ancients. But to proceed: When the Cacique of *Tobasco* came to make his Submission, *Cortez* let him know, that he came from

from a powerful Prince; and that his principal View was to make them all happy in this World and the next, by making them the Subjects of the same Sovereign, and converting them to the true Religion. To which the frighted Cacique answer'd, as the *Spaniards* tell us, that he and his People should think themselves happy in obeying a King, whose Power and Greatness appeared with such Advantage in the Valour of his Subjects: But as to the point of Religion, 'tis said, they gave little Hopes of their Conversion. Cortez, being about to advance still farther with his Fleet on the *Mexican Coast*, was under the greatest Concern, we are told, that he must leave that People before he had fully instructed them in the Catholick Religion; and on *Palm-Sunday*, the Day he had appointed to embark his Troops, he first caused an Altar to be erected in the open Field; where he celebrated High Mass in the Presence of the *Indians*, and all his Troops march'd in their Ranks to the Altar, with Boughs or Palms in their Hands, to celebrate that Festival: The Procession seeming to excite in the Natives the utmost Awe and Reverence; insomuch, that some of them, 'tis said, cried out, *This must be a great God that such brave Men adore.*

Cortez, having concluded a Peace with the Natives of *Tobasco*, or rather compelled them to acknowledge the King of *Spain* for their Sovereign, embarked his Forces, and sailed to the Westward till he arrived at the Port of *St. John de Ulva*. When the *Spaniards* were coming into this Port, two *Peraguas*, or large Canoes, full of *Indians*, came into the Fleet, and address'd themselves to the General in a submissive manner; but were not understood by

Mexico.

Cortez
embarks
his Forces
again.

He ar-
rives at
the Port of
*St. John
de Ulva.*

Mexico.

Some Account of
Donna Marina,
Concubine
and Interpreter to
Cortez.

by his Interpreter; which the celebrated *Donna Marina*, the General's Concubine, observing, offer'd to become Interpreter between the *Christians* and her Country-men the *Mexicans*. And here the *Spanish* Writers entertain us with the Character and Family of this *Indian* Damsel; who, being Mistress to their Hero *Cortez*, and so instrumental in the following Conquest, we must not wonder that they derive her Pedigree from Ancestors of Quality and Distinction. They acknowledge, indeed, that she was Slave to the Prince of *Tobasco*, who presented her, with several more, to *Cortez*; but then they tell us, this happen'd by accident; she was really the Daughter of a Cacique, or *Mexican* Prince, tho' she had the Misfortune to be taken Captive in the Wars, and made a Slave: That she had a ready Wit, and several natural Endowments, which well agreed with the Nobility of her Birth: That *Cortez* took her to his Bed for political Reasons; and had a Son by her, to whom he gave his own Name, making him a Knight of *St. Jago*, in Consideration of the Nobility of his Mother's Birth. But to return to the History: *Donna Marina* supplying the Place of Interpreter, the General was informed by the *Mexicans*, that their Emperor *Montezuma* had sent two of his Ministers, viz. *Pilpotoe*, Governor of that Province, and *Tenitle*, one of his Generals, to know with what Intention the *Spaniards* visited his Dominions; and to offer them such Provisions and Accommodations as his Country afforded. To which the General answer'd, that he came as a Friend, and to treat of Matters of great Importance; desiring a Conference with the Officers *Montezuma* had sent to receive his Proposals: And landing

landing with his Troops on *Good-Friday*, he ^{Mexico.} laid out a Camp on an advantageous Situation, fortifying it with Trenches and Redoubts, and planting his Artillery in such a manner as to ^{He lands, and forti-} command the Country round him; being as- ^{fies his} sisted in this Work, and in erecting Huts and Tents to preserve his Soldiers from the Weather, by great Numbers of *Mexicans* that the Governor of the Province sent to assist him: For the Historian observes, that the *Mexicans*, having heard of the Defeat of their Countrymen at *Tobasco*, made a Virtue of Necessity, and thought it Prudence to make Friends with a People they durst not oppose. Nor does *De Solis* forget, in this place, to observe again the great Veneration his Hero had for Religion; telling us, that he immediately erected a Chappel, setting the Image of the Blessed Virgin on the Altar, and a great Cross at the Entrance, in order to celebrate the approaching Festival of *Easter*, for Religion (says he) ^{was always his principal Care.}

On *Easter-Day* 1519, *Montezuma's* Ambassadors came to the Camp of the Spaniards, and were admitted to the Presence of *Cortez*, who received them in great State: But, before he would enter upon any Business, the Historian relates, he went to Chappel, and heard Divine Service; being attended thither by the Ambassadors, and a Croud of *Mexicans*, who appeared extremely delighted with their pompous Ceremonies.

An Embassy from *Montezuma*.

Being returned to the General's Tent, he entertained the Ambassadors at Dinner in a very splendid manner: After which, he informed them, that he was come from *Don Carlos* of *Austria*, the great Monarch of the East, to propose Matters of great Importance

Mexico. to their Emperor *Montezuma*, and his Subjects; but that it was absolutely necessary he should deliver his Message personally to the Emperor, according to the Usage of all Nations; and hoped he should be received with the Respect due to his Character.

To this the *Mexican* Ministers answered, that they had Orders from their Sovereign, the great *Montezuma*, hospitably to receive and entertain all Strangers that arrived on their Coasts, and had brought him a Present of such Things as their Country afforded, consisting of fine painted Cotton Lincn, beautiful Feathers, and Plates of wrought Gold, which their Servants were order'd to bring in, and place in the General's View: But they gave him to understand, at the same time, that their Emperor never admitted Foreigners to his Presence; and therefore he must not think of approaching his Court. *Cortez* replied, that never any Ambassadors were refused an Audience, unless it were with a Design to affront the Prince they came from; and that he was determined not to leave the Country till he had delivered the Contents of his Embassy to their Emperor himself. Whereupon the *Mexican* Ministers desired, that he would, however, remain in his Camp till they had acquainted their Emperor with the Proposal, and received his Commands; and they would, in the mean time, supply his People with Provisions, and every thing they wanted.

During this Conference, the *Spaniards* observed some of the *Mexicans* were very busy in drawing, upon Cotton Cloth, the Pictures of the principal *Spaniards*, and whatever they thought remarkable, as their Ships, Arms, Artillery, and Horses; which were designed, they

they understood, to be sent to *Montezuma*, to acquaint him what kind of People, and of what Force the *Spaniards* were. Of which *Cortez* being inform'd, desired they would not finish their Piece till he had given them a Taste of his military Operations: Whereupon he order'd his Forces to be drawn up in Order of Battle, and to exhibit a mock Engagement: He order'd also his Horse to mount, and shew their Activity and Horsemanship in charging, wheeling, and retiring, as in a Battle: Then the small Arms were order'd to fire, and afterwards the Artillery. At which the *Mexi-* The *Mexi-*
cans were astonish'd; some of them actually *cans* astonish'd at
 fled, and others fell down with the Fright, the Artil-
 apprehending they should be destroy'd by this lery and
 artificial Thunder; but, being a little reco- small
 vered from their Consternation, by a Cessation Arms.
 of the Fire, they made several Additions to
 the Pieces they were painting; wherein they
 endeavour'd to represent the amazing Scene
 they had been Witnesses of: And, having fi-
 nish'd it, the Ambassadors carried the Pic-
 ture, with a Present *Cortez* had provided for
 the Emperor, to the Court of *Mexico*. They
 returned to *Cortez* again seven Days after, and
 brought another magnificent Present from
Montezuma for the General; which, they said,
 their Emperor had sent as a Testimony of his
 Respect for the King he came from; but
 could not admit of the *Spaniards* resorting to
 his Court.

To which *Cortez* answer'd, he durst not re-
 turn to his Prince till he had delivered the
 Message he was sent upon to the Emperor
Montezuma; giving them to understand, that
 he was determin'd to prosecute his Journey to
Mexico at all Hazards.

Mexico.

The State
of Mexico
when the
Spaniards
arrived
there.

Prodigies
and Pre-
sages of
the Fall of
the Mexi-
can Em-
pire.

Here the Historian takes an Opportunity of giving us an Account of the State of the *Mexican* Empire at that Time, and of the Character of *Montezuma*. He says, that the Empire was in the most flourishing Condition it had ever been in: That *Montezuma* was then possess'd of almost all the habitable Parts of *North America*, his Dominions extending above five hundred Leagues in Length, and lying upon the *North* and *South* Seas: That *Montezuma* was the eleventh Emperor, and the second of that Name, elected to the Throne in Consideration of his great Merit, particularly on account of his Courage and military Virtues; and, tho' he affected to appear extremely modest and affable before he arrived at the Imperial Dignity, he was no sooner invested with it, but he became intolerably proud and insolent, and would be served in his Court only by his vassal Princes and Nobility, and was guilty of great Cruelty and Oppression; which render'd him generally hated by his Subjects, and occasion'd Insurrections in several Parts of the Empire. He had reign'd fourteen Years when *Cortez* arrived there; the last of which, they tell us, was full of Presages and wonderful Portents, which shew'd that the Destruction of that Empire was approaching: That, when *Grijalva* and the *Spaniards* were upon the *Mexican* Coast the Year before, a Comet appeared for several Nights, of a pyramidal Form; and another was seen at Noon-day, resembling a fiery Serpent with three Heads, which ran swiftly towards the East till it vanish'd: The Lakes of *Mexico* overflow'd in an unusual manner, carrying away both Houses and People; one of their principal Temples was burnt down to the Ground, with-
out

out their knowing from whence the Fire proceeded; nor was it possible to extinguish the Flames: Horrid Voices were heard in the Air, and strange Oracles pronounced by their Idols, intimating their sudden Fall: Monsters of horrible Deformity were taken and brought to *Montezuma*, particularly a Fowl of a prodigious Size and Make, which had on its Head a shining Plate like Looking-glass, in which the Emperor saw an Army of Men coming from the East, and making terrible Havock of his Subjects: That a Countryman, who had seen a Vision, came to Court, and boldly told the Emperor, he was commanded by the Gods to warn him of his approaching Ruin; for an Enemy was coming from the farther Part of the World to destroy both his Empire and Religion. I shall leave the World to give what Credit they please to these Prodigies and Portents; and only observe, that there scarce ever was a Revolution in any Nation, but some such Intimations of it have been pretended.

The *Spaniards* seem to give some Countenance to them; and assure us, that these Prodigies induced the Emperor *Montezuma* to deny *Cortez* and his *Spaniards* Leave to approach *Mexico*; believing that these were the People, from whom that Destruction was to proceed that had been threaten'd.

While *Cortez* remained in his Camp, he order'd his Fleet to sail along the *Mexican Coast*, and sent out Parties by Land to gain farther Intelligence of the State of the *Mexican Empire*; and, in the mean time, received a Message from *Montezuma*, requiring him to depart his Dominions, or he should look upon the *Spaniards* as his Enemies, and treat them as

Mexico. such: Which, 'tis said, occasioned a Mutiny among his Men; some of them representing, that it was the highest Rashness to attempt the Conquest of so great an Empire with so small a Force; and intimating, that they expected to be sacrificed to the Avarice and Ambition of their General. Whereupon *Cortez* pretended he would return to *Cuba*, and get a farther Reinforcement of Troops; but finding, on this Declaration, a Majority of his Soldiers desirous of prosecuting immediately what they had so fortunately begun, and to be of Opinion they had Forces sufficient to deal with the *Mexicans* already; he determined to continue his March towards the Capital City of the Empire: In which Resolution he was confirm'd by the Cacique of *Zempoala*, a Prince in the Neighbourhood of *Ulva*, who offered to enter into an Alliance with the *Spaniards* against *Montezuma*, complaining loudly of his Tyranny and Oppressions.

The Cacique of *Zempoala* joins *Cortez*.

But, before *Cortez* proceeded farther in this grand Enterprize, he thought it proper to get his Authority establish'd in a better manner than it was at present: He represented to his Soldiers, that he had no other Commission than that which he received from *Diego Velasquez*, Governor of *Cuba*, which had been recalled; and therefore proposed their electing some one of their Officers to be General in this Expedition, whom they would willingly obey and submit to: For it could not be supposed, he should be able to transact any thing of Consequence, so long as his Title to command them was precarious, and every one was at Liberty whether they would obey his Orders or not. He resigned the Commission therefore he had received from *Diego Velasquez*, and delivered up

up his General's Staff, desiring they would proceed to an Election, and then withdrew: And, after a very short Space, a Majority of the Officers and Soldiers made Choice of *Cortez* to be their General again; some few of the Relations of *Diego Velasquez* only protesting against it, and these he obliged to submit to the Suffrages of the rest.

The General, being thus establish'd in his Command, began his March to the City of *Zempoala*, the Capital of his new Ally; where, arriving in two or three Days, he was received by the Cacique with the greatest Marks of Esteem and Affection; He informed *Cortez*, that all the Caciques on that Side the Country were in a manner enslaved by *Montezuma*, and so oppress'd by his Tyranny, that they were ready to throw off their Subjection to that Prince, and would infallibly join the *Spaniards* as soon as they durst declare themselves: And the Cacique order'd the *Spaniards* to be quarter'd in the best Part of the City of *Zempoala*, supplying them with Plenty of Provisions.

The General continuing his March the next Day for the Town of *Quibislan*, situated on the Coast where he had order'd his Fleet to meet him, the Cacique of *Zempoala* commanded four hundred *Indians* to carry his Baggage, and assist in drawing the Artillery; for there were neither Beasts of Burden or Draught to be found in the Country; every thing was done by the Strength of Men.

When the Army arrived at *Quibislan*, they found the Town deserted by the Inhabitants, who were fled in the utmost Consternation; but the General sending some of their Countrymen after them, and acquainting them that he intended

Mexico.

The Spaniards march to Zempoala.

They arrive at Quibislan or Vera Cruz.

Mexico.

intended them no hurt, they soon returned to their Dwellings: And, while Cortez remained in this Town, above thirty Caciques of the Mountains came and desired his Alliance, offering to reinforce his Troops with an hundred thousand Men, if he would take them under his Protection, and assist them in throwing off that Yoke which *Montezuma* would impose upon them. This Cortez readily consented to; and, as the *Indians* seemed to believe the *Spaniards* invincible, and to be rather Gods than Men, Cortez was not backward to encourage the Notion, looking upon it as a very likely means to facilitate the Reduction of that Empire; of which he seemed to have such an Assurance at this time, that he took upon him to decide the Differences of the Caciques, or *Indian* Princes, as their Sovereign; and even ventured to demolish the Temples and Images of the *Zempoalans*, who sacrificed some of their Prisoners; telling them, that the God of the *Christians* abominated such Sacrifices: Which seems to have been a very bold and impolitic Step, if he had not thought himself able to subdue the *Mexicans* by pure Force; and was no doubt afterwards remember'd to his Disadvantage. Nor was he content with this, but he converted one of their Temples into a *Christian* Church, and erected an Altar in it, on which he placed an Image of the Blessed Virgin, and celebrated Mass with great Solemnity: And tho' the *Indians* did not seem inclinable to renounce their own Superstition, yet the Catholick Historian informs us, they were not averse to the admitting the Image of the Virgin *Mary* into the Number of their Idols; and even desired she would be their Advocate, that the God of the *Christians* might

Cortez demolishes the Temples of Zempoala.

Converts one of them into a Church.

might protect them; of whose Power they Mexico. seemed extremely sensible.

After this Execution on the Mexican Idols at Zempoala, Cortez returned to Quibislan, to which he gave the Name of *Vera Cruz*, where his Fleet lay at Anchor, and found a Vessel just arrived there from *Cuba*, with a small Reinforcement of ten Soldiers and two Horses; for such was the Opinion the Spaniards had of the Success of the Enterprize against Mexico, that they went by stealth after Cortez in small Parties, and were ready to run all Hazards to join him, hoping to share the Wealth of the Continent with that Captain. By these the General understood, that *Diego Velasquez*, Governor of *Cuba*, continued to threaten him; and had sent to the Court of Spain to obtain the King's Commission (for he had only a Commission from *Don Diego Columbus* before) to be Viceroy of that Island, and Captain-General on the Continent, in order to defeat the ambitious Projects of Cortez, and that he might reap the Glory and Advantage of the Conquest the Spaniards were about to make of the Empire of *Montezuma*.

New Adventurers arrive.

Upon this Intelligence, Cortez drew up a Letter to the Court of Spain, in the Name of his principal Officers; giving an Account of the Success of their Expedition, the Wealth and Fertility of the Country, the Town they had fortified, and the several Princes and Provinces that had already revolted from their Emperor, and enter'd into an Alliance with the Spaniards: They were directed also to complain of the Injustice of *Velasquez*, by whose Encouragement they had embarked all their Fortunes in the Enterprize, and yet endeavoured to defeat it, to the irreparable Damage

Cortez sends to Spain for a Commission.

mago

Mexico.

mage of the Crown of *Spain*, and of the *Christian* Religion, which would probably be spread and propagated over this New World, if they were not prevented prosecuting their Design by the unreasonable Opposition of the Governor of *Cuba*.

This Letter, with all the Gold, Jewels, and valuable Curiosities they had obtained by Presents from *Montezuma*, or by Traffick with his Subjects, were sent to *Spain*, as a Specimen of the Wealth of the Country, and to shew of what Importance it was to support *Cortez* and his Fellow-Adventurers. In this Dispatch also was enclosed a Petition, that *Cortez* might still continue to be the General and Conductor of the Enterprize, inasmuch as he had already shewn himself extremely well qualified for such an Undertaking.

But, notwithstanding a Majority of the Soldiers appeared to be in the Interest of *Cortez*; and others, out of fear of his Power, consented to sign these Dispatches for *Europe*; there was still a considerable Party in the Interest of *Don Diego Velasquez*, and amongst them some of the principal Officers, his near Relations. *John Diaz*, one of the Chaplains of this little Army, also was found to favour the Governor of *Cuba*; and was for transacting every thing therefore in his Name, and by his Authority, who first formed the Design of invading *Mexico*, and largely contributed to it. And when the dissaffected Party found they were not able to carry their Point, they enter'd into a Conspiracy to seize one of the Ships, and return to *Cuba*; which was discover'd the Night before it was to have been executed; and *Cortez*, to establish his Authority, and deter his People from such Attempts, caused

A Mutiny
among the
Spaniards.

two of the Conspirators to be put to Death, two more of them were whipped, and one of the principal Mariners had his Foot cut off. The General and Officers of his Party also agreed to set Fire to the Fleet, after they had brought the Tackling, Iron-work and Planks on Shore, that might be useful to them; whereby they render'd it impossible for any of their People to desert them for the future, and added an hundred Seamen to their Army.

Mexico.

Cortez
burns his
Ships.

This Action *Antonio de Solis* magnifies to the Skies, comparing *Cortez* to the greatest Captains of Antiquity; tho' there does not seem to be any thing more in it, than this: The General found he had very little to apprehend from the *Mexicans*, who were not only extremely terrified by the Fire of his Artillery and small Arms, but so divided amongst themselves, or rather generally disaffected to their Prince, that there could be little difficulty in subduing the Country, if he was not interrupted by the Governor of *Cuba*; for the Prevention whereof he did indeed a very prudent thing in burning his Ships, that *Velasquez* might have no Intelligence of his Motions; and that his People, having now no Possibility of retreating to *Cuba*, might join unanimously in prosecuting the Conquest, which nothing but their own Divisions could defeat. He found he was in more Danger from the Attacks of the Governor of *Cuba*, and the Murmurs of the *Spaniards*, than from the naked defenceless *Indians*; and destroy'd his Fleet, because the keeping of it was the only thing that could undo him, and frustrate his ambitious Views; which, tho' it discover'd a good Share of Cunning, yet I don't see any great Reason to cry up the Courage of *Cortez*.

Mexico. upon this Occasion; for he knew he should have been expos'd to much greater Hazards by having a Fleet, than by having none; and that the Destruction of it would contribute to his Security more than any Step he could take.

The Governor of *Jamaica* lays Claim to *Mexico*.

Cortez begins his March for *Mexico*.

Soon after the burning of the Fleet, appear'd three *Spanish* Ships upon the Coast, that came from *Don Francisco de Garay*, Governor of *Jamaica*; who landed a Notary, attended by three Witnesses, that were sent to declare and testify, that the Governor of *Jamaica* laid Claim to that Part of the Coast where *Cortez* was, and intended to settle a Colony there; requiring him to remove from thence: But *Cortez*, instead of complying with the Demand, made the Notary, and six *Spaniards* more, Prisoners; and the Ships that brought them thereupon stood off to Sea again. After which, the General, having finish'd the Fortifications of *Vera Cruz*, and left in it a Garrison of an hundred and fifty *Spanish* Foot, two Troopers with their Horses, and a good number of Confederate *Indians*; began his March towards the City of *Mexico*, with the rest of his Forces, consisting of five hundred *Spanish* Foot, fifteen Horse, and six Field-Pieces, which were drawn by the Natives. He was attended also in this March by his Allies the neighbouring Caciques, and a numerous Army of *Indians*; and, having pass'd some high barren Mountains, where he complains his Men suffered a great deal by the Cold, the heavy Rains they met with, and the want of Provisions, they arrived at the City of *Zocotlan*; the Cacique whereof commanded a great Extent of the Country, and received the *Spaniards*, 'tis said, with a great Shew

Shew of Respect; but did not seem sincere in the Friendship he profess'd: And when the General demanded, If he was subject to the Emperor of *Mexico*? He answer'd with another Question, viz. *Is there a Man upon Earth, that is not a Vassal and Slave to Montezuma?* To which, 'tis said, *Cortez* as haughtily reply'd, That the *Cacique* knew very little of the World; for that he, and the *Spaniards* with him, were the Subjects of a Prince that commanded greater Kings than *Montezuma*. Still the *Cacique* insisted, as the *Spanish* Historians relate, That *Montezuma* was the greatest Prince in the World: That the Provinces he commanded were innumerable: That he kept his Court in a City that was impregnable, founded in the Waters, and which there was no approaching but by Causeys, fortified with Bulwarks and Draw-bridges: That his Wealth and the Number of his Forces were inconceivably great; and, lastly, that he sacrificed twenty thousand of his Enemies, or of his rebellious Subjects, annually to his Gods. But, as the last Part of this pretended Speech was certainly false; so the first Part of it seems exceeding jejune and vain; and rather resembles the Disputes of School-boys contending for the Preference of their respective Schools, than a Conference between two great Generals. As to the Falsity of the *Mexicans* sacrificing so many Thousands every Year to their Gods, we find the *Spanish* Bishop of *Chiapa*, who resided in *Mexico* soon after this Conquest, declaring, that tho' there had been human Sacrifices in that Country, they never sacrificed fifty Persons within the space of a Year: And, if this Part of the Speech was false, we can have no great Regard to the rest.

Mexico.

A Dialogue between Cortez and the Cacique.

Mexico.

Indeed, I am ready to ascribe this, and most of the Speeches we meet with in this History, to the Invention of their Historians, who in this imitate the Practice of some of the Ancients; and, provided their Discourses are just, adapted to the Quality and Circumstances of the Persons that speak, and the Subject in debate, there may be no great Occasion to censure them. But to return to the History: *Cortez*, being advised to march through the Territories of *Tlascala*, an *Indian Republic*, that was ever at War with *Montezuma*, sent four of the Chiefs of the *Zempoalans*, his Allies, as Ambassadors, to offer them Peace, and to demand a Passage through their Country: And here the *Spanish* Historians have given us another Speech, which, they tell us, the principal Ambassador made to that Commonwealth, of the following Tenor:

An Embassy to *Tlascala*.

A Speech of the Ambassador's.

“ Noble, valiant and potent *Tlascalans*, our
 “ Sovereign, the Prince of *Zempoala*, and the
 “ Caciques of the Mountains, your Friends,
 “ wish you Health, a plentiful Harvest, and
 “ Victory over your Enemies; and, by us,
 “ send to acquaint you, that certain invincible
 “ Men are arrived from the East, who seem
 “ a kind of Gods: They sail in Palaces upon
 “ the Ocean; their Weapons are Thunder
 “ and Lightning, the peculiar Arms of Heaven;
 “ they profess themselves Servants of a
 “ God superior to ours, that is offended with
 “ Tyranny and human Sacrifices; their Captain
 “ styles himself the Ambassador of a
 “ powerful Prince, who sends him to reform
 “ the Manners of our Country, and deliver
 “ the *Mexicans* from the Oppressions of *Montezuma*,
 “ the great Enemy of yours and all
 “ the neighbouring States; and only desires a
 “ Passage

“ Passage through your Country to the Court Mexico.
 “ of that Monarch: Which the Ambassadors
 “ advised them to admit of; assuring them,
 “ that these Foreigners had no other Views
 “ than the common Good of their Country,
 “ and made no other Use of the terrible Arms
 “ they carried, but to promote the Welfare of
 “ Mankind.

Whether this Speech be genuine or no, is not material: The Reason of my giving this Abstract of it is, to shew the glorious Pretensions of the *Spaniards* to gain over the *Indian* Natives to their Party; tho', after they were subdued by the Assistance of their own Arms, the Conduct of the *Spaniards* appear'd the very reverse of their Declarations.

This pacific Proposal, the same Historians relate, being debated in the Senate of *Tlascala*, one of the gravest of them, by Name *Magiscatzin*, observes, that it had long since been declared by their Priests, and was generally believed by their People, that an invincible Race of Men should one Day come from the East, who should have Power over the Elements, be able to live upon the Ocean, and with Fire and Air subdue the Earth: Men of a celestial Race; so valiant and powerful, that one should be able to vanquish a thousand; and so good, as to promote nothing but what was just, reasonable and beneficent: That these Strangers resembled the People their Oracles had described, in almost every Instance: Their Valour those of *Tobasco* had already experienced, and their Goodness their Allies declared, amongst whom they had resided.

Debates in
the Senate
of *Tlascala*
on this
Embassy.

That the Comets they had lately seen, foretold this great Event; and it would be Madness

Mexico. nefs to oppose a People arm'd with the Thunder of the Gods, and whose Lightening pointed out their Submission.

There was a Party, however, in the Senate, led by *Xicotl*, the *Tlascalan* General, who were of another Mind, according to *De Solis*: They said, it was true these Pretenders to Reformation came from the East; but it was much to be question'd, whether these were the same their Oracles foretold should come from thence; for those they expected were to be of a celestial Race: Their Fire-Arms and Floating-Castles, which some called Palaces, might be the Effect of human Industry and Invention; or, perhaps, they might be the Illusions of some Enchantment: Their Success at *Tobasco* might be ascribed to Surprise, or a panic Fear that possess'd that People; but was by no means to be looked upon as miraculous: And they suspected, that the good Usage the *Zempoalans* had experienced, was only the Effect of Artifice, and in order to draw in that People to their Party; for they did not want Instances of the Covetousness, Pride and Ambition of these Foreigners: They had plunder'd several Towns on the Coasts, and express'd an insatiable Thirst after the Gold and Silver their Country produced: They contemned and derided their Religion, destroyed their Temples, pulled down their Altars, and blasphemed their Gods; which sufficiently evinced, they were far from being of heavenly Extraction: That those Portents and Signs in the Air, which had been so much insisted on, were the constant Forerunners of some dreadful Calamity, and sent as Warnings by the Gods, that they might provide against them: They ought therefore to oppose these Invaders with

with all their Forces, and, by their Supplications to the Gods, endeavour to avert those Miseries they were threaten'd with.

I have given an Abstract of these Speeches, to shew what the *Mexicans* thought of the *Spaniards* on their Arrival among them; or rather, what the *Spaniards* would have us believe, the *Indians* thought of them: Not that I suppose such Speeches were ever made; for it was impossible the *Spaniards* could have come to the Knowledge of them if they had, there being no such thing as Writing among that People, and the *Spaniards* at that time perfectly ignorant of their Language.

But whatever were the Debates in the Senate of *Tlascala*, it is evident, they determined to oppose the Passage of the *Spaniards* through their Country, till they had made an Experiment of their Strength. Indeed, they durst not meet this terrible Enemy, whose Arms they resembled to Thunder and Lightning, in a fair Field; but they frequently laid Ambuscades in the Woods and Mountains, and, surrounding the Stragglers, killed and wounded some of the *Spaniards*; by which they learnt they were neither invulnerable nor immortal, as they had been represented. However, such was the Advantage the *Spaniards* had in their Artillery and Horses, that the *Tlascalans*, finding it in vain to continue the War, were contented, at length, to accept of Peace, and become most faithful Allies to *Cortez*.

The *Tlascalans* resolve to oppose the *Spaniards*.

The *Spaniards*, 'tis true, mention several great Battles fought with the *Tlascalans*, and a Variety of Stratagems used on both Sides in this War; and suggest, that the Success of the *Christians* was to be ascribed to a supernatural Power: But there is very little Regard to be given

Mexico,

given to such Insinuations; for the Terror the Natives were in, at the Approach of the Horse and Artillery, was such, that they constantly fled when they saw the *Christians* in Motion. Besides, the Forces of the Caciques and *Indian* Princes, that join'd *Cortez*, were more numerous than those of *Tlascala*, and able to have maintained the War perhaps against that People alone; and we find few of the *Spaniards* were hurt in this War: It is highly probable, therefore, the Opposition *Cortez* met with was inconsiderable; and that a very moderate degree of Courage and military Conduct was sufficient to drive the frightened defenceless *Indians* before them. That the Slaughter of the *Indians* of *Tlascala* was great, I shall not contest; for the Execution of a flying Enemy is generally very terrible; and the Allies of *Cortez*, no doubt, when they saw their Enemies turn'd their Backs, might do much more Execution than the *Spaniards* themselves; inasmuch as they were more numerous, and not incumber'd with the heavy Arms and Armour of the *Christians*.

When *Montezuma* received Advice, that the *Spaniards* had subdued the *Tlascalans*, and were about to incorporate them in the Number of their Allies, he was under the utmost Consternation; for he knew them to be the bravest of the *Indian* Nations, and the most inveterate Enemies to his Empire: A People, who had long resisted his Arms alone, and, join'd with these invincible Strangers, he apprehended would shake the Foundations of his Throne: He sent another Embassy therefore to *Cortez*, to represent the *Tlascalans* as a treacherous and barbarous People, who had no Regard to their Treaties, and who would take the first Opportunity

portunity that presented itself of destroying those that confided in them : But the *Spaniards* easily saw through the Design of *Montezuma*, in offering them this Advice, and concluded their Treaty with *Tlascala* the sooner, because they found that Prince so much dreaded the Confederacy they were negotiating.

Mexico.

An Alliance between the *Tlascalans* and *Spaniards*.

Montezuma made still another Effort to divide the *Spaniards* and the *Tlascalans* : He even offered to pay a yearly Tribute to the *Spaniards*, consisting of half his Revenues, provided they would break with their new Allies, and lay aside their Design of marching to *Mexico* : But *Cortez* would not consent to either of these Propositions ; and, receiving an Invitation from the Senate of *Tlascala*, to take up his Quarters in their Capital, he enter'd that City in Triumph, on the 23d of September 1519 ; and had a Palace assign'd him, consisting of several Courts, large enough to accommodate his whole Army ; and was entertain'd here at the Expence of that Republic, who readily consented to become Fellow-Subjects of the same mighty Prince the *Spaniards* were. But, when *Cortez* press'd them to abandon their Idols, and embrace the *Christian* Religion, they desired to be excused from such Compliances ; and the General could prevail no farther, than that they should suspend their human Sacrifices. He would, the Historian relates, have proceeded to demolish their Temples and Images by Force, as he had done at *Zempoala* ; but that Father *Bartholomew de Olmedo* dissuaded him from that rash Resolution, which, he represented, would infallibly unite all the *Indian* Nations against him, and put a Stop to the Progress of their Arms.

Cortez marches to *Tlascala*

Mexico.

The Vul-
cano of
Popototec
farvey'd.

While the *Spaniards* remained at *Tlascala*, the burning Mountain of *Popotepet*, which lies about eight Leagues from that City, burnt with great Violence, throwing out Stones and Ashes that cover'd the neighbouring Country: And this the *Mexicans* also looked upon as the Forerunner of some Calamity. But the *Spaniards* informed them, that this Eruption proceeded from natural Causes; and *Diego de Ordaz*, to shew his Contempt of what the Natives so much dreaded, took two of his Soldiers along with him, and climbed up this dreadful Vulcano, till he came to the Mouth of it, where they saw a great Mass of boiling Sulphur; and, having satisfied their Curiosity, returned again to *Tlascala*, where they were given over for lost: And, tho' it was in reality a very rash and foolish Attempt, yet the *Spaniards* observe, it was attended with very fortunate Consequences; for, *first*, it raised in the *Indians* a vast Opinion of the *Spaniards*, who were not afraid to march up to the Mouth of this Vulcano, which their own People durst never approach; and, *secondly*, the *Spaniards* by this means discover'd a vast quantity of Sulphur, which was of great Use to them afterwards in making Gun-powder, when the Powder they brought with them was almost exhausted.

Montezuma
invites
Cortez to
Mexico.

Cortez, having remained at *Tlascala* about 20 Days, received another Embassy from *Montezuma*, inviting him to advance to the Capital City of *Mexico*; for, finding the *Spaniards* were now become so powerful, by their Alliance with the *Tlascalans*, and other States, that it was in vain to oppose their March, he thought it the least Evil of the two to receive them as Friends: He found, if he persisted any longer

longer to deny the *Spaniards* coming to his Capital, they would force their Way thither, which would occasion a War that might end in the Destruction of himself and his Empire; whereas, by entering into an Alliance with them, he might not only preserve himself, but still continue to govern his Dominions, on making some formal Acknowledgments of his Dependance on the King of *Spain*; and that the *Spaniards*, in this case, would rather support and protect him against the *Tlascalans*, and his rebellious Subjects, than endeavour to weaken his Authority. And there is no doubt, but at this time *Montezuma* and the *Mexicans* were so terrified with the Artillery of the *Christians*, and the formidable Alliances they had enter'd into with the Natives, that they might have made that Emperor tributary to *Spain*, and put almost any Terms upon him; But *Cortez*, who ever affected to make himself rather feared than loved, and to effect every thing by pure Force, pretended that this sudden Change in *Montezuma* could arise from no other Motive than Treachery; and, as he had invited him to continue his March, and take up his Quarters in *Cholula*, one of the Frontier Cities of his Dominions, he had Reason to suspect, that this was done with a View of surprizing and cutting off the *Spaniards*, when he should have enclosed them in that Fortref; and therefore *Cortez* pretended he would take this Opportunity to chastise his Treachery and Insolence; that is, he would cut in pieces some Thousands of the *Mexicans*, at his Entrance into their Country, in order to keep up and increase the Dread they had of his Arms! And in this Project, they tell us, the *Tlascalans* concurred, or rather advised him

Mexico. to, that they might take a full Revenge of their ancient Enemies the *Mexicans*, now they were reinforced by the invincible *Spaniards*.

Cortez advances to Cholula.

Cortez, his own Historian relates (tho' he knew of this Plot of *Montezuma* and the *Mexicans* to cut off the *Spaniards* at *Cholula*) continued his March thither; which was certainly very imprudent, if he really believed there was such a Conspiracy formed against him, as he pretended: But, as a Precaution, they tell us, he took six or seven thousand of the *Tlascalans* with him, besides the *Zempoalans*, and the Forces of his other Confederates; and, being arrived at the City of *Cholula*, he was received with all imaginable Marks of Esteem and Affection; only they desired the *Tlascalans* might quarter without the City, as they were of a different Sect in point of Religion, and their ancient Enemies: Which Cortez thought fit to consent to; but directed the *Tlascalans* to encamp so near the Town, that they might join their Forces with the *Spaniards*, if there should be Occasion. The same Historians relate, that such were the joyful Acclamation of the *Mexicans*, on the *Spaniards* entering into this City, that they themselves, tho' they had entertained a Jealousy of a Conspiracy before, were inclined to think them sincere: That the Quarters the Magistrates assign'd the *Spaniards*, were four large Houses, contiguous to each other, spacious enough to contain the *Christians*, and all their Allies, except the *Tlascalans*, who were so posted as to have a Communication with their Friends; and that the *Spaniards*, having fortified their Quarters, were in no Danger of being surprized. But still, they proceed to give us a farther Relation of this pretended Plot

Plot of the *Mexicans*, to destroy the *Christians* Mexico.
in this Town, by a general Massacre; affirm-
ing, that a *Mexican* Lady discover'd it to
Donna Marina, *Cortez's* Mistress, in Compas-
sion to her; and that some Priests of the
Mexicans, being examined thereupon, con-
firm'd the Truth of it. But, whatever there was Cortez
in the Conspiracy of the *Indians* against the *Spa-* murders
niards, all agree, that *Cortez* and the *Tlascala-* several
ns fell upon the poor defenceless Citizens of thousand
Cholula, and cut the Throats of many Thou- Mexicans
sands of them, without the Loss of any of at Cholula.
their own People: That he even set Fire to
their Temples, which he burnt with great
Numbers of Priests and others, who had re-
tired thither, either to invoke the Protection
of their Gods, or as to Sanctuaries, which they
thought none would be so barbarous as to vio-
late. Thus, says *Antonio de Solis*, did *Cortez*
exalt the Treachery of *Montezuma* and the
Mexicans. He acknowledges, indeed, that
one of their own Historians charges this Ge-
neral with barbarous Cruelty in this and many
other Massacres of the like nature; suggesting,
that his Avarice for the Plunder of that rich
City, and his Ambition to render himself ter-
rible, were the real Motives to this Butchery:
And we can't easily avoid being of that Op-
inion, after the good Bishop of *Chiapa*, who
lived upon the Spot a little after the Conquest,
has confirm'd the Truth of it.

Certain it is, this terrible Execution had
such an Effect on *Montezuma*, that he imme-
diately sent another rich Present to *Cortez*,
with farther Offers of Submission and Resigna-
tion to his Pleasure: And, I think, there is
little room to doubt, but *Cortez* expected this
Massacre would be attended with some such Con-
sequences;

Mexico.



A pre-
tended
Miracle.

sequences; and that the Prospect of them were the principal Motives to that bloody Action. It is evident, great Part of the History of *De Solis* is mere Fiction: That he has formed Councils, made Speeches, and contrived Stratagems for his Hero; for which there was no manner of Occasion, against so weak and defenceless a People, frightened out of their Senses at the Discharge of his Artillery: Nay, he has wrought several unnecessary Miracles for the *Spaniards*; at which every reasonable Man must laugh. And, if these Relations are evidently false, what Regard ought we to have to other improbable Facts he relates, where they are not confirm'd by the concurrent Testimony of other Writers? To add another Instance of a false Miracle to those I have related already from *De Solis*: He tells us, that the *Spaniards* having erected a Cross on an Eminence in the City of *Tlascala*, when they march'd out of that Town, a prodigious bright Cloud descended, in Form of a Pillar, and settled perpendicularly upon the Cross, where it remained for three or four Years: That there proceeded from the Cloud such a Splendor, as struck the *Indians* with a Veneration for the Cross, shining out in the darkest Nights, and compelling them to acknowledge, that the Cross contained some Deity; and that it was with Reason the *Spaniards* worshipped it, and imitated them, by bending the Knee before it, and applying to it for Relief in their Distresses, neglecting their own Idols: Which Devotion encreased to that degree, that the *Indian* Priests grew jealous of their Religion, and endeavoured to pull down that miraculous Cross, and break it in pieces; but they always returned extremely terrified, not daring to declare

clare the Reason, lest they should lose their Reputation among the People. These, and a multitude more of such feign'd Miracles in the *Spanish* Historians, oblige us to read them with Caution; tho' *De Solis* is frequently so good as to save us the Trouble of a strict Examination, and confute himself, by relating impossible or inconsistent Facts, as will appear in the Course of this History. And, after all, if that Conquest was attended with Miracles that were wrought for the Conviction of the *Indians*, there had been little Occasion for those numerous Stratagems, and that inimitable Bravery they ascribe to their Hero *Cortez*; much less for those cruel Massacres that were exercised by the *Spaniards*, under pretence of forcing the *Indians* into the *Christian* Fold. There was surely very little of Heaven in that cruel War, if it may be called a War, which ravenous Wolves make upon defenceless Sheep: And if ever Religion, or rather Superstition, was propagated and established by the Sword, that of the *Papists* was in *America*; their Artillery were their Apostles, and Fire and Flagot their Evangelists, if we may believe their own Historian, the Bishop of *Chiapa*, who resided in *Mexico* soon after the Conquest, and came to *Spain* again to solicit a Cessation of these Barbarities, in Compassion to those miserable People, whom he saw destroy'd by Thousands; and was so happy as to obtain Orders from Court to the *Spanish* Governors to treat the *Indians* with more Humanity.

Cortez, having remained some Days at *Cholula* after this Massacre, and made the necessary Preparations for his March, advanced, by easy Stages, towards the Court of *Mexico*, in order to gain farther Intelligence, and strengthen himself

Mexico.

Cortez enters into new Alliances, and advances towards *Mexico*.

Mexico. himself by Alliances with the Caciques, or Mexican Princes, great Numbers of them resorting to him, and complaining of the Tyranny and Oppression of *Montezuma*, their Emperor. Nor was *Cortez* sorry, says his Historian, to see these Humours prevail in the Heart of the Country; *persuading himself, that a Prince could not be very powerful with so many Marks of a Tyrant, who, by losing the Love of his Vassals, was destitute of the surest Defence of a King.* Here we may observe the Force of Truth: The very Advocates of *Cortez*, and the first Adventurers, acknowledge, that the Disaffection of the *Mexicans* was so universal, that *Montezuma* could not, without difficulty, have prevented the Revolt of his Subjects, and a Confederacy of the *Indian* Caciques against him, if the *Spaniards* had not come to their Assistance: And, consequently, the mighty Actions pretended to be done by these Adventurers, had very little to be admired in them; at least, they could never deserve those Applauses that have been bestowed on them; since *Montezuma's* Empire must have fallen of itself, by their own relation, without foreign Assistance. Can we think it strange then, that it should be overturn'd, when the oppress'd *Indians* were assisted in their Revolt by a People versed in the *European* Arts of War, and armed with Artillery and other Advantages, which must have terrified and confounded any People, how brave soever, that had never seen any thing of this kind.

They frequently insinuate, indeed, that nothing less than Miracles and supernatural Aids could have enabled such a handful of Men to reduce so vast an Empire; but they forget, on those

those Occasions, that they have inform'd us; Mex.co.
 that the Armies of *Indians* that join'd *Cortez*
 were equal to those of *Montezuma*; and that
 his Subjects were oppress'd, and prepared for
 a general Revolt. From whence it appears,
 that neither Miracles, or any great Share of
 Courage or Conduct, were necessary to bring
 about that Revolution, which is represented as
 so astonishing, that the Actions of *Alexander*,
Cæsar, and the greatest Heroes of Antiquity,
 are not to be compared to it.

The Historian proceeds to tell us, that *Montezuma* had laid another Plot to destroy the *Spaniards*, by leading them into a desert Country, full of Defiles and difficult Passes, where he propos'd either to cut them off, or starve them; but their *Indian* Allies, it seems, advis'd *Cortez* to take a different Road, whereby he preserv'd his Army: That this Stratagem failing, *Montezuma* commanded his Magicians, Necromancers, and all that were vers'd in the Black Art, to assemble, and distress his Enemies by their Enchantments, on pain of Death: That thereupon the Magicians, relying on the Support and Assistance of those infernal Powers that us'd to favour them, took their Post on a Mountain, in View of the *Spanish* Army; where, beginning to draw Circles, and invoke the Devil (like our *European* Necromancers) the Prince of Darkness appear'd to them, in the Form of one of their Idols, of a most terrible Countenance; and from whom they suppos'd Plague and Famine, and other Calamities, to proceed; and, with an angry Look, exceeding the Fierceness of the Idol, seem'd to threaten them. Whereupon they prostrated themselves before the infernal Spirit; but he, regardless of their Devotion, in a dismal Tone

The Magicians employ'd by *Montezuma* to distress the *Spaniards*.

A pretended Vision.

Mexico. and Voice, spoke to them in this manner: *Unhappy Mexicans, the Time is come wherein your Enchantments have lost their Force; and the League between us is dissolved. Tell Montezuma, that, for his Tyranny and Cruelty, Heaven has decreed his Ruin: And, that you may in a more lively manner represent to him the Desolation of his Empire, turn your Eyes upon that miserable City, already forsaken of her Gods.* Having said this, the Apparition disappeared, and they beheld their Capital City in Flames; which they found, however, untouched on their Return thither.

When this Vision was related to *Montezuma*, 'tis said, he was astonish'd, and for some time remained speechless; but, at length, broke out in the following Exclamation: *What can we do, if our Gods forsake us? Let the Strangers advance, and the Heavens fall on us: To hide ourselves, or turn our Backs on the Vengeance that threatens, would be dishonourable. I only lament the Fate of the Women and the Children, that cannot defend themselves.* And, when he had said this, seem'd ready to dissolve in Tears: And now, finding it in vain to oppose the March of the *Spaniards* any longer, he began to make Preparations for their Reception.

Thus, we find, the *Spanish* Historians have interested both Heaven and Hell in the Destruction of this unfortunate Emperor, against whom they had already arm'd his own Subjects, and all the neighbouring Powers; which must render *their Share* in the Subversion of this Empire exceeding small: A Prince, terrified by Visions and Prodigies, by his own Oracles, by a general Insurrection and Confederacy against him, scarce wanted the artificial

THUNDER

Thunder and military Skill of the *Spaniards* Mexico.
to complete his Ruin. But to proceed:

The *Spaniards*, continuing their March, were attended by several other Caciques and Lords of the Country, who complained of the intolerable Oppressions of *Montezuma*; telling *Cortez*, that they look'd upon him as their DELIVERER, sent from Heaven to restrain and punish the Injustice and Cruelty of Tyrants: To whom he promised his Protection; and, drawing near to *Mexico*, in order to strike the greater Terror into the Natives, he order'd his Artillery and small Arms to be discharged; and caused several *Indians* to be shot, that approached too near his Quarters while he lay encamp'd at *Anemeca*, on the Borders of the *Mexican Lake*.

Here Prince *Cacumatzin*, the Nephew of *Montezuma*, attended by the *Mexican Nobility*, came to the General, and bid him welcome; assuring him, that he would meet with a very kind and honourable Reception from the Emperor; but intimated, that there having lately been a great Scarcity of Provisions in the City of *Mexico*, occasion'd by unseasonable Weather, they could not accommodate him as they desired; and therefore entreated he would defer his Entrance into that Capital, if he did not think fit entirely to decline going thither: But, *Cortez* appearing determined to advance, the Prince seemed to acquiesce, and the Preparations for the Reception of the *Spaniards* were continued.

Cortez, being arrived at *Quilavaca*, a City situated on an Island in the great Lake, five or six Leagues from *Mexico*; is said to have had some Apprehensions, that the *Mexicans* should break down the Causey, and remove

Mexico. the Bridges on it; which would have very much embarrass'd him, because he could neither have advanced or retired in that Case, especially with his Horse and Artillery. But the Cacique of *Quistlavaca*, who appeared to be a Friend of the *Spaniards*, very much encouraged the General; telling him, he had nothing to fear; that the Prodigies in the Heavens, the Answers of the Oracles, and the Fame of the great Actions and surprizing Arms of the *Spaniards*, had perfectly dispirited their Emperor, and disposed him to submit to whatever the General would impose on him; and that he was so far from meditating to impede their March, that he had given his Commands to all the Places, through which the Army was to pass, to supply them with Provisions, and all other Accommodations; and that he would find the People every-where infinitely rejoiced on his Approach, looking upon him in a manner as their good Angel, and in Expectation the *Spaniards* would answer the Character they had conceived of them, and rescue them from Oppression.

This is acknowledg'd by all the *Spanish* Historians. How is it possible then, to form a more favourable Conjecture, for the *Spaniards* to have establish'd their Dominion in *Mexico*, even without the least Bloodshed, if the General, who conducted them, had been equal to the Enterprize, or had had less Avarice and Cruelty in his Composition.

The last Town the *Spaniards* came to, before they arrived at *Mexico*, was *Iztacpalapa*, which stands upon the great Causeway leading to that Capital, and is about two Leagues from thence; where he was received, with all imaginable Honours, by the Cacique and the neigh-

neighbouring Princes, who presented him with a great Variety of Plumes and Fruits, and with Plates of Gold, to the Value of two thousand Peso's. The Prince assign'd *Cortez* his own elegant Palace also for his Quarters, and entertained him in the Gardens of it, which, the *Spaniards* inform us, were equal in Beauty and Magnificence to any thing of that kind in *Europe*. Mexico.

The General, having remained here one Night, began his March early the next Morning, being the 19th of *November 1519*, in order to make his Entry into the Metropolis of the Empire; and, as they drew near it, says *De Solis* in his lofty Style, they saw, with Admiration, that great City elevated vastly above the rest of the Cities of the Lake, and carrying an Air of Dominion in the Pride of her Buildings. Being come within a League of the City, they were met by four thousand of the Nobility and great Officers of State, who, having paid their Compliments, advanced before them to the Gates of *Mexico*, and then made a Lane for the Army to march through; the rest of the People appearing at the Windows and Battlements on the Tops of the Houses, which were crowded with them; but they were not suffer'd to stand in the Streets, that the March of the *Spaniards* and their Auxiliaries might not be impeded or disorder'd. Cortez enters Mexico.

The Army consisted at this time of four hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, and six thousand *Tlascalans* and *Indians*, who had no sooner enter'd the Streets of *Mexico*, but they were met by two hundred Noblemen of the Emperor's Household, cloathed in one Livery, with large

Mexico. large Plumes of Feathers on their Heads, all of the same Fashion and Colour.

These, after meeting and complimenting the General, fell back also, and, dividing themselves, made a Lane for the *Spaniards*. Then came another Body of the Nobility, of a superior Dignity, who made a more splendid Appearance; and, in the midst of them, was the Emperor *Montezuma*, carried in a Chair of beaten Gold, on the Shoulders of his favourite Courtiers, four more of them sustaining a Canopy over his Head; the whole adorned with beautiful Feathers, through which the glittering Gold appeared: He was preceded by three Officers, with Rods of Gold, the Harbingers of the Emperor's Approach, on whose Appearance the People prostrated themselves, none daring to look up.

His first
Interview
with *Montezuma*.

Cortez dismounting when the Emperor drew near, the *Mexican* Monarch alighted from his Chair, and Carpets were spread in the Street for him to tread on: He advanc'd, according to the *Spanish* Historians (who seem to have taken many of the Ceremonies they relate from their own Court) with a slow solemn Pace, leaning on the Arms of two Princes, his Relations; and was met by *Cortez* with a becoming Haste, and a most profound Reverence, which *Montezuma* answer'd, by touching the Ground with his Hand, and afterwards raising it to his Lips; a new and unheard-of Condescension, my Author observes, from *Montezuma*, who would scarce bend a Knee to his Gods; and added to the Esteem and Veneration his Subjects already had of the *Spaniards*. The Conference between the Emperor and the General was short, the Historian relates, at this Interview; neither has he made a Speech for either

of

of them on this Occasion; only tells us, that their Speeches were suitable to the Occasion; and that the Emperor commanded one of the Princes, his Relations, to conduct the General to the Palace assign'd for his Residence; and then returned to his own Palace.

It was about Noon the Spaniards were brought to the Royal House appointed for their Reception, which was so spacious as to contain all the Europeans and their Auxiliaries: It had thick Stone-Walls, they tell us, flank'd with Towers: The Roof of the Palace flat, and defended by Battlements and Breast-works; infomuch, that when the General had planted his Artillery, and placed his Guards, it had very much the Appearance of a Fortrefs.

Hither Montezuma came the same Evening, and was received by Cortez in the principal Square of the Palace; and that Monarch, having enter'd the Room of State, and seated himself, order'd a Chair for Cortez; and a Signal was made for his Courtiers to retire to the Wall: Whereupon the Spanish Officers did the same; and Cortez, being about to begin a Speech by his Interpreters, the Historian relates, Montezuma prevented him, and spake as follows:

Montezuma visits Cortez.

“ Illustrious and valiant Stranger, before
 “ you disclose the important Message the great
 “ Monarch you come from has given you in
 “ Command, it is necessary some Allowances
 “ be made for what Fame has reported of us
 “ on either side. You may have been in-
 “ form'd, by some, that I am one of the im-
 “ mortal Gods; that my Wealth is immense-
 “ ly great, and my Palaces cover'd with Gold:
 “ And, on the other hand, you may have
 “ heard, that I am tyrannical, proud and cruel.
 “ But

Mexico.

“ But both the one and the other have equally
 “ imposed on you: You see that I am a Mor-
 “ tal of the same Species as other Men; and,
 “ tho’ my Riches are considerable, my Vassals
 “ make them much more than they are; and
 “ you find, that the Walls of my Palaces are
 “ nothing more than plain Lime and Stone.
 “ In like manner, no doubt, has the Severity
 “ of my Government been magnified: But
 “ suspend your Judgment of the whole till
 “ you have had an Opportunity of informing
 “ yourself concerning it; and you will find,
 “ that what my rebellious Subjects call Op-
 “ pression, is nothing more than the necessary
 “ Execution of Justice.

“ After the same manner have your Actions
 “ been represented to us. Some speak of you
 “ as Gods; affirming, that the wild Beasts
 “ obey you: That you grasp the Thunder in
 “ your Hands, and command the Elements:
 “ While others assure me, you are wicked,
 “ revengeful, proud, and transported with an
 “ insatiable Thirst after the Gold our Country
 “ produces.

“ I am now sensible, ye are of the same
 “ Composition and Form as other Men, and
 “ distinguish’d from us only by Accidents,
 “ which the difference of Countries occa-
 “ sions.

“ These Beasts (Horses) that obey you,
 “ are probably a large Species of Deer, that
 “ you have tamed and bred up in such imper-
 “ fect Knowledge as may be attained by Ani-
 “ mals: Your Arms are made of a Metal in-
 “ deed unknown to us, and the Fire you
 “ discharge from them, with such an asto-
 “ nishing Sound, may be some Secret taught
 “ by your Magicians. As to your Actions,
 “ my

“ my Ambassadors and Servants inform me, Mexico.
 “ that you are pious, courteous, and govern’d
 “ by Reason: That you bear Hardships with
 “ Patience and Chearfulness; and are rather
 “ liberal than covetous: So that we must, on
 “ both Sides, lay aside our Prejudices and Pre-
 “ possessions, and rely only on what our Eyes
 “ and Experience teach. Nor need you
 “ take any Pains to persuade us, that the great
 “ Prince you serve is descended from our An-
 “ cestor *Quezalcoal*, Lord of the *Seven Caves*
 “ of the *Navatlagues*, and King of the *Seven*
 “ *Nations*, that gave Beginning to the *Mexi-*
 “ *can* Empire. We know, that he departed
 “ from this Land to conquer new Regions in
 “ the East, promising to return again and re-
 “ form our Government and Manners: And,
 “ because you come from the East, and your
 “ Actions manifest you are descended from
 “ this our illustrious Progenitor, we have al-
 “ ready determined to pay you all imaginable
 “ Honours.

To this the General answer’d, That it was The An-
swer of
Cortez.
 true, various were the Reports they had heard:
 Some endeavoured to defame and asperse him,
 while others adored him as a God: But the
Spaniards, who were endued with a penetrating
 Spirit, easily saw through the different Colours
 of Discourse, and the Deceit of the Heart:
 That they neither gave Credit to his rebellious
 Subjects, or those that flatter’d him; but
 came into his Presence assured, that he was a
 great Prince, and a Friend to Reason; but
 very well satisfied, however, that he was mor-
 tal, as they themselves were: That the Beasts
 which obey’d him were not Deer, but fierce
 and generous Animals, inclined to War, and
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Mexico.

seemed to aspire with Ambition, after the same Glory their Masters did.

Their Fire-Arms were indeed the Effect of human Industry, and ow'd nothing to the Skill of the Magician, whose Arts were abominated by the *Spaniards*: And thus, having given some Answer to the Emperor's Discourse, *Cortez* proceeded to let him know, That he came Ambassador from the most potent Monarch under the Sun, to desire his Friendship and Alliance: That there might be a Communication and Intercourse between their respective Dominions; and, by that means, the *Christians* might have an Opportunity of convincing them of their Errors: And tho', according to their own Traditions, he might claim a more absolute Power over this Part of the World, their King only desired to make Use of his Authority, to instruct them in Matters infinitely to their Advantage; to shew the *Mexicans* that they lived in Darkness and Error, adoring insensible Blocks of Wood, the Works of Mens Hands and Fancies: Whereas there was but one true God, the eternal Cause of all Things, without Beginning or Ending; whose infinite Power created, out of nothing, the wonderful Fabrick of the Heavens, the Sun which gave them Light, the Earth that sustained them, and the first Man from whom they all proceeded: And this God they were all under equal Obligation to acknowledge and adore; an Obligation imprinted on their Souls, and of which even the *Mexicans* could not be wholly ignorant, tho' they dishonoured that Almighty Being, by worshipping Devils and impure Spirits, Creatures of the same God, who, for their Ingratitude and Rebellion, were doom'd to subterranean Fires; of which their

Vulcanoes

Vulcanoes had an imperfect Resemblance; That these infernal Spirits, whose Malice and Envy render'd them most inveterate Enemies of Mankind, endeavour'd their Perdition, by causing themselves to be adored in their abominable Idols: That it was their Voice they sometimes heard in the Answers of their Oracles, and their Illusions that impos'd on their Reason. That these Mysteries could not be explained at a single Interview; but the King, whose Superiority they acknowledged, admonish'd them to hear those Fathers whose Business it was to preach the heavenly Doctrine: This was the first and principal Thing the King his Master commanded him to insist on, as the most likely means of establishing a lasting Amity; that, being united in Principles of Religion, their Alliance might become indissoluble.

The Reply *Montezuma* made to this Harangue, 'tis said, was, That he accepted the Alliance propos'd by the King of Spain, the Descendant of his great Ancestor *Quezalcoal*; but as to the Overture that had been made concerning Religion, he held, that all Gods were good, and the God of the Spaniards might be what they represented; but he saw no Reason to withdraw that Veneration the *Mexicans* paid to theirs: And, having made *Cortez* a Present of Gold, Jewels, and other valuable Curiosities, and distributed more among his Officers, that Prince returned to his Palace.

In the first of these Speeches, the *Spanish* Historians have made *Montezuma* speak what they thought it was proper for him to say on such an Occasion; and have sufficiently discover'd that Submission *Montezuma* was then dispos'd to pay them: They shew, that the *Spaniards*

Montezuma's Reply.

Remarks on these Speeches.

Mexico.

niards were then so high in the Opinion of the *Mexicans*, that they might have imposed what Terms they pleased upon them, if they had not struck upon the only String that could have prevented it; namely, the demanding a sudden and total Change in their Religion, even at this first Conference. Whether the Answer said to be made by *Cortez* be genuine, or not, is not very material; but it is evident, from this first Speech their Writers have put into his Mouth, and many other Passages, as also from his demolishing their Temples and Images at *Cozumel* and *Zempoala*, that he began foolishly to prejudice the *Indians* against the *Spaniards*, by insisting on a Change of Religion before he had establish'd his Authority. Had he once possess'd himself of the Government, which the Emperor *Montezuma*, and his Subjects the *Mexicans*, in a manner courted him to accept; he might probably, by Reason, by Encouragements and Rewards, have wrought upon many of the *Indians* to have relinquish'd their Superstition; for, tho' he had not the Power of working Miracles, the Actions of the *Europeans* were looked upon as miraculous, and their Power invincible: And if to this had been added some Examples of that Humanity and Benevolence which Christianity inspires; had the *Indians* seen them act like Christians, and manifested a real Concern for their temporal as well as eternal Happiness, the Christian Religion had, in all probability, been soon establish'd in that Part of the World. But when they saw the *Spaniards* destroying their Temples and Idols by Force, before gentle Means and the Arts of Persuasion had been made use of to convert them from their Errors, and give them an

Opinion

Opinion of the Religion proposed to be introduced; when they saw those they at first looked upon as Gods or Angels, rather than Men, rapacious and cruel, intent upon amassing Gold and Treasure, and murdering the Natives by Thousands and ten Thousands, under pretence of Plots and Conspiracies against them; when they found, by Experience, that the *Spaniards* were but Men, and were render'd desperate by the cruel Treatment they met with from them; no wonder they held fast their Errors, and endeavoured to free themselves from a Yoke they found intolerable.

Cortez and the *Spaniards* seem to have proceeded upon very impolitic and bloody Maxims: They expected, in the first place, that the *Indians* should immediately entertain and embrace their Religion, before they knew any thing of it; and believed it lawful, if the *Indians* refused this, to destroy them by all ways imaginable: And accordingly we shall find, in the Course of this History, that they used them worse than they would have used any Species of Animals; first making them their Slaves, and then destroying them without Mercy; which was not only barbarous, but extremely impolitic. The *Romans*, we find, whenever they extended their Arms, made even the Princes of the conquer'd Nations subservient to their Designs, and assist them in establishing their Dominion, by constituting them Viceroyes and Governors under them; and, by that means, reconciled the People they subdued to their Empire: But the *Spaniards* rejected, or neglected, all such politic Arts; and seemed to know no other way of subduing that New World, than by massacring and murdering the

Mexico. the ancient Inhabitants; insomuch, that large Provinces and Islands were perfectly depopulated, and many Millions of People destroy'd, within the Space of twelve Years after the Invasion of *Cortez*, as the *Spanish* Bishop of *Chiapa* informs us, who was so successful in his Application to the *Spanish* Court, as to procure a Stop to be put to these unparalleled Outrages and Devastations, in some measure. But to proceed in our History, which will abundantly manifest the Truth of what I have here advanced.

The first
Audience
of *Cortez*.

The *Spanish* General, attended by some of his Officers and Soldiers, went the next Day to the Palace of *Montezuma*, and was admitted to an Audience. And here again, their Historians relate, that *Cortez* entertained that Prince chiefly on the Subject of Religion: That he endeavoured to give him an Opinion of the Rites and Cereemonies of the *Christians*, exclaimed against human Sacrifices, and how unnatural it was to devour their own Species thus sacrificed: And they tell us, that they prevailed so far on him, as to induce him to banish human Flesh from his own Table; tho' he durst not prohibit his Subjects eating of it, or his Priests the continuing to offer such Sacrifices. On the contrary, he maintained, That it was no Cruelty to offer to his Gods Prisoners already condemned to die; tho' *Cortez*, and Father *Olmedo* the Priest, frequently endeavoured to convince him of the Barbarity of the Practice, and of the Excellency of the Christian Religion: That he still insisted, *That his Gods were as good in his Country, as the God of the Christians was in theirs*: Nor could he dissimble his Resentment, when he was press'd so closely on this Subject.

At

At another time, *Montezuma* carried *Cortez*, Father *Olmedo* the Priest, and some of the principal *Spanish* Officers, to take a View of the great Temple; explained to them their Rites and Ceremonies, the Deities the Images represented, and the Use of the sacred Vessels and Utensils; and this with great Reverence and Seriousness: At which the *Spaniards*, their Historians inform us, were so rude and impolitic, as to laugh and make a Jest of them; and that *Montezuma* thereupon admonish'd them to keep within the Bounds of Decency. But *Cortez*, transported with great Zeal, said to the Emperor, *Permit me, Sir, to fix the Cross of Christ before these Images of the Devil, and you will see whether they deserve Adoration or Contempt.* At which the Priests were enraged, and *Montezuma* himself in Confusion; and said to the *Spaniards*, *You might, at least, have shewn this Place the Respect you owe to my Person.* And immediately led them out of the Temple; but returned thither again himself, telling them, he must ask Pardon of his Gods for having suffer'd them to proceed so far. And now, it seems, *Cortez* and his Priests were themselves convinced, they had taken a wrong Step in pressing the Emperor so strenuously to change his Religion, which only tended to provoke him, and fix him in his Errors; and contented themselves with erecting a Chappel, by his Leave, for the Exercise of the Christian Religion publickly; in which they placed the Image of our Lady and a Cross, and celebrated Mass every Day: They add, that *Montezuma* and his Court were frequently present at Divine Service, and admired the Humanity of the Christian Sacrifice; tho'

Mexico.

Montezuma shews *Cortez* the great Temple.

The impolitic Zeal of *Cortez*.

Mexico. they could not be brought to abolish their own.

Remarks
upon it.

Give me leave just to remark, in this Place, that the *Mexicans* did not eat the Flesh of those that were sacrificed, or ever fed on human Flesh; nor were human Sacrifices frequent in *Mexico*; tho', upon some Festivals and extraordinary Occasions, it be admitted, Men were sometimes sacrificed. The Design the *Spaniards*, in representing these People to be so very barbarous, was evidently to justify their own cruel Butcheries on these unfortunate *Indians*, as will be shewn under the Head of Religion. And, indeed, with what Face could the *Spaniards* declaim against the Worship of Images, while they worshipped Images themselves? Or how could they pretend such a Detestation of human Sacrifices, when they sacrificed so many Thousands to their Ambition and Avarice? And, as some have observed, might not the *Indians* have justly retorted upon them, That if they sacrificed Prisoners taken in War, the *Spaniards* every Day almost sacrificed and eat their very God, as they themselves acknowledg'd. To return to the History.

Still there continued a great Intimacy between *Montezuma* and *Cortez*. If we may credit the *Spanish* Historians, *Cortez* frequently resorted to the *Mexican* Court, and *Montezuma* as often visited the *Spanish* Quarters, making Presents to the General and to his Officers and Soldiers, and exhibiting Shews and Entertainments for their Diversion. The *Mexicans* still treated the *Spaniards* with a Respect that favour'd of Submission, according to my Author. *Montezuma* spoke of their King with the same Veneration he mention'd his own Gods;

Gods; his Nobility paid a profound Respect ^{Mexico.} to the *Spanish* Officers, and the People bow'd the Knee to the meanest *Spanish* Soldier: But an Accident happen'd, which very much less'n'd the Esteem, or rather Dread, the *Mexicans* at first entertained of these Foreigners.

One of that Emperor's Generals, levying the annual Tax imposed on the vassal Princes in that Part of the Country which lay in the Neighbourhood of the *Spanish* Garrison of *Vera Cruz*; these Caciques, who had thrown off their Subjection to the *Mexican* Empire, and enter'd into an Alliance with the *Spaniards*, applied themselves to *John de Escalante*, Governor of *Vera Cruz*, for Protection; who ^{An Action} thereupon march'd out of that Fortrefs, with ^{between} forty *Spaniards* and three or four thousand ^{the Mexi-} Confederate *Indians*, to their Assistance; and, tho' ^{cans and} he had the good Fortune to defeat the *Mexican* ^{Spaniards} General, yet one of the *Spaniards* was killed, ^{near Vera} and his Head sent up to Court; and the Governor, with five or six more of his Garrison, were mortally wounded. Which News being brought to *Cortez*, gave him great Uneasiness; and the more, because he was inform'd, by the Confederate *Indians*, that the *Mexicans* were consulting how to drive him out of their Territories; which they did not apprehend impracticable since the Engagement near *Vera Cruz*.

The *Spanish* General therefore, finding it impossible to maintain his Authority among the *Indians* any longer, without entering on some Action that might give them fresh Cause of Astonishment, says my Author, and recover that Reputation they seem'd to have lost by that unfortunate Accident; resolv'd to seize the Person of *Montezuma*, and bring him Pri-

Mexico. soner to his Quarters: And accordingly, at an Hour when the *Spaniards* were used to pay their Court to that Prince, *Cortez*, having given Orders to his Men to arm themselves without Noise, and possess themselves of all the Avenues leading to the Palace, in small Parties, that no notice might be taken of it; went to the *Mexican* Court, attended by several of his Officers and thirty Soldiers, whose Resolution he could rely on; and, being admitted to the Emperor's Presence, he complained of the Violation of the Peace between them, by one of the *Mexican* Generals falling upon his Confederates, and afterwards killing a *Spaniard* he had taken, in cold Blood. To which *Montezuma* answer'd, That if any thing of that nature had been done, it was without his Orders; and he was ready to make Satisfaction for any Injury that might have been done undesignedly, either to the *Spaniards*, or their Allies. But *Cortez* gave him to understand, that nothing would satisfy them but his surrendering himself into their Hands, and residing with them in the Palace assign'd to the *Spaniards* for their Quarters.

Montezuma, at first, seem'd astonish'd at the insolent Demand, and remained for some time silent: But, recovering from his Surprise, he said, That Princes of his Rank were not accustomed to yield themselves up to a Prison; nor would his Subjects permit this, if he should forget his Dignity so far. *Cortez* answer'd, If he would go along with them voluntarily, they were not afraid of any Opposition his Subjects should make; and they would treat him with all the Regard due to his Dignity: He might continue to exercise his Authority as formerly, and no Restraint should

should be put upon his Actions; only, for their Security, he insisted, that the Emperor should reside amongst them. *Montezuma* still refusing to put himself into their Hands, was given to understand, that, if he would not, they would carry him off by Force, or murder him if they were oppos'd: Whereupon he submitted to do, what he found it was impossible to avoid; and gave Orders to his Officers to prepare for his Removal to the *Spanish* Quarters, whither he went in the usual State, and in all appearance voluntarily, unless that he was attended by a Company of *Spaniards*, that surrounded his Chair, under pretence of doing him the greater Honour: The *Spaniards* also obliged him to take with him some of his Children, with the principal Lords and great Officers of State, whom they detain'd as Hostages for their farther Security; all which could not be effected, without a Suspicion, that they were in reality all Captives to the *Spaniards*, and had very near caus'd a general Insurrection to obtain their Liberty. But *Cortez* oblig'd *Montezuma* to declare, that his Removal was voluntary, and to give his Orders, that the People should disperse, which was submitted to, possibly, lest the *Spaniards* should murder their Emperor, and all the great Men they had in their power: And 'tis said, that Prince was allow'd to live in the same State he had done in his own Palace for some time, attended by his Officers and Servants; and that he issued his Orders, as if he had been under no manner of Restraint; only the *Spaniards* us'd that Precaution, as not to admit too many of the *Mexicans* to enter their Quarters at a time,

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Farther
Remarks

time, and kept a very strict Guard at all the Avenues.

And here I cannot but observe a little Inconsistency in the *Spanish* Historians, particularly in *Antonio de Solis*, who tells us, that *Montezuma*, neither in his Expressions, or his Behaviour, discovered the least Weakness under his Confinement, or ceased to maintain the Grandeur of an Emperor. And within twenty Lines he says, *The Want of Spirit in Montezuma, was not less remarkable, than the Boldness of the Spaniards was surprising*; adding, that the Hand of God was upon the Hearts of the *Mexicans*, as well as their Emperor; or so haughty a Prince, and a warlike Nation, excessively zealous in supporting the Dignity of their Sovereign, would never have submitted so tamely, and without attempting his Rescue.

The *Spaniards* relate also, that *Montezuma's* Table, during his Confinement, was serv'd with greater Plenty than usual, and that what was left, was distributed amongst the *Spanish* Soldiers; that some of the best Dishes were sent to the General and his Captains, who were now perfectly known to *Montezuma*, and that he would converse freely and pleasantly with them; but in such a manner, as was not inconsistent with Majesty: That he spent most of his Time, when he was disengaged from Affairs of State, among the *Spaniards*, and used to say, he was not himself without them; and the Respect they paid him in return, gave him great Satisfaction: That he would sometimes play with *Cortez* at a *Mexican* Game, call'd *Toloque*, wherein they bowl'd at certain golden Pins, and that he us'd to distribute his Winnings amongst the *Spaniards*, and that

that he preserv'd the Sentiments of a Prince, even at play. But sometimes they tell us, that *Cortez* entertain'd this Prince with more serious Subjects; particularly, that his Zeal would not permit him to lose so fair an Opportunity of making the Emperor his Convert: But that all the Arguments, that he, and Father *Bartholomew de Olmedo*, the Priest, could use, had no Effect upon him; insomuch, that they were in doubt, whether he had not still some Intercourse with the Devil; tho' it was the general Opinion, that after the Appearance of the Cross of Christ in *Mexico*, all their infernal Invocations lost their Force, and the Oracles became silent.

Nor did the *Spaniards* only teaze this unhappy Prince, on the Point of Religion; but they compelled him to issue out his Orders for apprehending his General *Qualepopoca*, who had engag'd the *Spaniards* near *Vera Cruz*; and this Gentleman being brought Prisoner to Court, the *Spanish* Officers at a Court-martial condemn'd him to be burnt before the Gates of the Palace, with the rest of the Captains, that were concern'd in that Enterprize; and lest this should occasion an Insurrection, and an Attempt be made to rescue *Montezuma*, *Cortez* caused him to be laid in Irons that Morning the Execution was to be performed.

Cortez lays
Montezu-
ma in
Irons.

But such was *Montezuma's* Astonishment, when he saw himself treated in this ignominious Manner, says *De Solis*, that he wanted Force to resist or complain; and his Servants lamenting their Emperor's hard Fate, threw themselves at his Feet, endeavouring to ease him of the Weight of his Fetters: And tho' when he recovered from his first Amaze-
ment,

Mexico.

ment, he began to express some Impatience; yet correcting himself, he acquiesced in his Misfortunes; acknowledging, they proceeded from the Will of his Gods, and waited the Event, not without Apprehensions that there was a Design against his Life. But *Cortez* having seen the Execution perform'd, by which he found, he had struck such a Terror into the *Mexicans*, that little was to be fear'd from them, he return'd to *Montezuma's* Apartment, and order'd his Fetters to be taken off; and, as some Writers relate, fell on his Knees, and took them off with his own Hands, for which Favour the Emperor embrac'd and thank'd him. But, what is still more difficult to be believ'd, they assure us, that *Cortez* gave the Emperor Leave to return to his Palace, and that he refused the Offer, out of Regard to the *Spaniards*; telling them, he knew very well, that as soon as he was out of their Power, his Subjects would press him to take up Arms against them, to revenge the Wrongs he had suffer'd: Nay, the *Spanish* Historians positively affirm, that notwithstanding all the Injuries and Indignities they had offer'd to *Montezuma*, he expressed a more than ordinary Friendship and Regard for them, preferring their Interest to that of his own Subjects; which I must take the Liberty to suspend my Belief of, till they produce better Proofs of it, and cease to speak less inconsistently than they do in their Accounts of this Enterprize.

And now *De Solis* relates, that *Cortez* gave *Montezuma* Leave to go whither he pleas'd; which he seems to contradict within a very few Lines afterwards: For, he tells us, when that Prince only desired to perform his Devotions

tions in one of his Temples, it was granted upon certain Conditions; namely, that he should give his Royal Word to return to the *Spanish* Quarters again, and from that Day abolish human Sacrifices: And, I make no doubt, but they insisted on a third, viz. That he should take a Guard of *Spaniards* with him; for they acknowledge, that a Body of *Spaniards* actually attended him to the Temple, which they could do with no other View than securing their Prisoner; tho' *De Solis* says, indeed, it was at the Request of *Montezuma* they went with him: Nor did he ever go abroad without a *Spanish* Guard, or without asking Leave of *Cortez*, or ever lay one Night out of their Quarters, by their own Confession; which they would have us ascribe purely to Choice, and his Affection to the *Spaniards*, who had put such Indignities upon him. They add, that *Cortez* was now become his Prime Minister: That all Posts of Honour or Profit were disposed of by him and his principal Officers, who were courted by the *Mexican* Nobility, when they saw that no Places or Preferments could be had but by their Interest; which might be true possibly: But, surely, it is much more probable, that *Montezuma* was influenced more by his Fears, than his Affection for the *Spaniards*. And we may observe, from hence, that, with all these Advantages, *Cortez* and his *Spaniards* might have establish'd their Power upon such a Foundation, as could not easily have been overthrown, without such a Deluge of Blood as they spilt afterwards, if *Cortez* had been as able a Politician as he was a Soldier; or, if his Benevolence and Humanity had exceeded his Cruelty and Avarice.

He

Mexico.

He seems to have left scarce any means untried for his Security and Establishment, but the principal; namely, the gaining the Affections of the *Indians*, and the winning them over to his Party, as well as to the Christian Religion, by Acts of Generosity and Beneficence. He was so careful of himself, that he caused some Brigantines to be built on the Lake of *Mexico*; whereby he entirely commanded the Lake and the Causeys leading to the City: And, at the same time, he increased his Reputation with the *Mexicans*, by the artful Management of those Vessels. The *Indians* were at this time ignorant of the Use of Sails and Rudders; and, when they saw the *Spaniards* sailing not only before the Wind, but upon a Wind, and sometimes almost directly against it; and that the Vessels were steered this way and that way with only the Turn of a Hand, they began to return to their first Opinion, that the *Spaniards* had in reality the Command of the Elements: And, indeed, such was the Opinion the *Indians* now entertained of the Skill and Power of the *Spaniards*, that it was purely their own Fault the *Mexicans* ever attempted to regain their Freedom.

The most fatal of all the Errors *Cortez* committed, were his repeated Attempts, from the very time he landed, to destroy the Temples and Images of the *Mexicans*, and force them to receive a new Religion before they knew any thing of it, and before he was in a Condition to force their Compliance. Indeed, Religion ought never to be forced upon a People, how potent soever their Governors may be: But to attempt the Subversion of Religion, and the introducing another by Force, in

in the Infancy of a Revolution, was surely the most impolitic thing in the World. And, if the Attempt was not to be ascribed to Weakness in *Cortez* and his Officers, it must be imputed to a much worse Cause; namely, to their Avarice and Cruelty, who, looking upon themselves to be armed with the Pope's Authority, as well as the King of *Spain's*, imagined, that all the Wealth of that rich Country would be forfeited to them, if the *Mexicans* refused an immediate Submission to their Demand of becoming *Christians*; and that, in such a Case, it was lawful to plunder, enslave and murder them without Mercy, and make all the Wealth of *Mexico* their own. This they looked upon as the shortest way to arrive at what they principally aimed at; namely, the acquiring unbounded Treasures. This their future Actions evidently demonstrate, if any Credit is to be given to their own Historians.

Even now, when the Emperor *Montezuma* and his Subjects appeared to be all Submission, and had in a manner given the Reins of Government into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, did they offer them such unnecessary Provocations, in the Capital City of the Empire, as no People would ever have borne. They attempted, at once, without demanding Leave, or giving any Reason for it, to demolish all the Images of their Gods, and convert the principal Temples in *Mexico* into *Christian Churches*; which occasion'd, as might reasonably be expected, a general Insurrection. The Priests took up Arms, and the whole City rose, says my *Spanish* Author, in Defence of their Gods; and the *Spaniards* were at length convinced, by the Opposition they met with, that it was expedi-

Mexico

ent to admit their Idols to remain, for the present, where they stood. However, they persisted in erecting a *Christian* Chappel in one of the Temples, and placing in it the Cross, and an Image of the Blessed Virgin; and actually sung Mass in it with great Solemnity: Which the *Indian* Priests agreed not to oppose, provided their own Idols might be permitted to remain in their Temples: And thus the Matter was accommodated between them, and the Tumult appeased. Some of the *Spanish* Historians describe a solemn Procession also, that was made to the new-erected Chappel when the Popish Images were carried into it; and give us a Speech, said to be made by Cortez on that Occasion, before the Crucifix. They tell us also of that General's working a very great Miracle, a little afterwards, for the Proof of the *Christian* Doctrine: They say, that the *Mexicans* came to him in a tumultuous manner, complaining that their Gods refused to send them Rain, because he had introduced strange Deities into their Temples: And that, to appease the People, he told them, the God of the *Christians* would send them Plenty of Rain in a very few Hours; which Prediction Heaven was pleased to fulfill, to the great Admiration of *Montezuma* and his Subjects.

However, these pretended Miracles were but of small Service to the *Spaniards*, it seems, and, had they been real, the false Politicks or Bigotry of Cortez, in endeavouring to destroy the *Indian* Superstition, and introduce his own thus precipitately, prejudiced that People against him to such a degree, that we hear of nothing but Plots and Conspiracies on the one side, and cruel Butcheries and Oppression on the other, till the *Spaniards* established them-

themselves by pure Force, and had in a manner
extirpated the Natives, instead of convert-
ing them to the Christian Faith.

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Their Historians relate, that *Cacumazin*,
King or Cacique of *Texcoco*, and Nephew to
Montezuma, assembling many more of the
vassal Princes of that Empire, represented to
them the Tyranny of the Spaniards, whom in
manner govern'd the State in the Name of
their unfortunate Prince, whom they had made
their Prisoner, and even loaded with Irons, like
a common Malefactor: Nor did he forget to
reflect on the Outrages that had been done to
their Religion, by deriding and vilifying their
Gods, and attempting to demolish their Tem-
ples and Images; concluding, that it was the
greatest Reproach their Country could suffer,
suddenly to submit to these Outrages from a
handful of Foreigners, who appeared, now
they were better acquainted with them, to be
but Mortals of the same Species, and who had
no other Advantage over them than what their
Fire-Arms and enchanting Magick gave them;
inciting them to behave themselves like Men,
and deliver their Country from this shameful and
intolerable Slavery. With whom most of the Ca-
ciques concurr'd; but some false Brethren amongst
them, 'tis said, betray'd the Conspiracy to *Cortez*.
Whereupon *Cacumazin* was made Prisoner,
and his Brother, a Creature of the Spaniards,
was made Cacique of *Texcoco* in his stead;
and the rest of the Conspirators were dispers'd,
tho' not entirely dishearten'd; for this Plot, to
free themselves from the Tyranny of the Spa-
niards, became in a short time more general:
And *Montezuma*, receiving Advice, that his
Subjects were unanimous in their Resolution of
restoring him to his Liberty and Empire, and

A Plot
against the
Spaniards.

of Mexico
of Mexico
of Mexico

Mexico. to dismiss their haughty Guests the *Spaniards*,
 summoned the vassal Princes to *Mexico*, who
 came thither attended with formidable Bodies
 of their Troops; and, in this Situation, he had
 the Courage to let *Cortez* know, That, having
 acknowledged his Master the King of *Spain*
 the Heir of his Empire, and that he held his
 Dominions of him, as descended from their
 great Ancestor *Quizalcoatl*; and having pre-
 pared a rich Present for that King, to testify
 his Submission and Dependance on him; he
 expected *Cortez* should withdraw from *Mexi-
 co*, and return to the Prince that sent him, to
 give him an Account of the Success of his
 Embassy: And at the same time delivered to
Cortez an immense Treasure, which he and his
 Subjects had contributed, in hopes that the
 Avarice of the *Spaniards* would have been
 entirely satisfy'd with it, and that they should
 enjoy the Possession of their Country, and what
 they had left, in quiet, freed from any farther
 Outrages or Insults. And the *Spaniards* them-
 selves introduce *Montezuma* making the fol-
 lowing short Speech on this Occasion, viz.
 "That it was reasonable, *Cortez* should
 "now begin to think of his Departure, since
 "he was thus fully dispatch'd: And that the
 "Motives or Pretences for his Stay being
 "ceased, and he having received, for the Ser-
 "vice of the King his Master, so favourable
 "an Answer to his Embassy, the vassal Princes
 "would not fail to surmise, that he had still
 "farther Views, if they saw him persist in
 "remaining longer at that Court; nor
 "would it be in his Power to support and
 "protect the *Spaniards* against them.
 And *Cortez*, it seems, was under such Ap-
 prehensions, that he should suddenly be at-
 tack'd

tack'd by the Forces of the whole Empire, if he refused to comply with this reasonable Demand; that he did not think fit to object any thing against it; only desired Time to build a Fleet to transport his Troops to Spain, the Fleet which brought him thither being destroy'd: To which the *Mexicans* agreed, and immediately assign'd him Timber, Work-men, and Labourers, to rebuild his Ships; which furnish'd him with a pretence to stay some time longer; and he gave Directions to the Work-men not to make too much haste in equipping the Fleet, expecting that a Reinforcement of Troops might in a short time arrive from Spain, and enable him to maintain his Ground against all the Powers of *Mexico*.

Mexico.
The Answer of *Cortez* to this Overture.

But, while *Cortez* lived in Expectation of a friendly Squadron coming to his Assistance, Advice was brought, that eleven tall Ships, and seven smaller Vessels, with eight hundred *Spanish* Foot, fourscore Horse, and twelve Pieces of Artillery on board, were arrived on the *Mexican* Coast, near *Vera Cruz*; and that they were sent by *Diego Velasquez*, Governor of *Cuba*, to prosecute the Conquest of *Mexico*, and to make *Cortez* and all his Men Prisoners, that refused to submit to his Authority, and obey *Pamphilio de Narvaez*, who had the Command of the Fleet and Army employ'd in this Expedition. To understand the Reason whereof, it will be necessary to look back a little, and call to mind, that *Diego de Velasquez*, Governor of *Cuba*, first formed the Design of reducing *Mexico*, and provided a Fleet and Army, giving the Command thereof to *Hernando Cortez*, in order to attempt that Conquest: But being inform'd, that *Cortez* had a Design to deprive him of the Glory and Advantage

Narvaez sent from *Cuba*, with a Body of *Spaniards*, to reduce *Cortez*.

Mexico.

Advantage of the Enterprize, and set tip for an Independancy, *Diego Velasquez* revoked his Commission; and, before *Cortez* left the Island of *Cuba*, required him to relinquish that Command, and return. But *Cortez* and his Friends, having embark'd all their Fortunes in the Design, in hopes of mighty Advantages that would accrue to them in the pursuance of it, and both Soldiers and Seamen having a high Opinion of the Valour and Conduct of *Cortez*, they agreed to set Sail, and proceed in the Enterprize, notwithstanding the express Command of the Governor of *Cuba* to the contrary. Whereupon the Governor sent Complaints to *Spain*, that *Cortez* had mutiny'd, and run away with the Ships and Forces design'd for the Reduction of *Mexico*; and desired he might have his Commission of Lieutenant-General renew'd and confirm'd by that Court; and that he might be constituted Lieutenant-General of all the Countries conquer'd, or to be conquer'd on the Continent of *Mexico* (for his former Commission was given him by *Don Diego Columbus*, the Successor of the celebrated *Columbus* that discovered this new World.) And so good was the Interest of *Diego Velasquez* in the Court of *Spain*, that he received the Commission he desired: And, being inform'd of the Success of the Spaniards under *Cortez*, and supported by the Commission he had obtained, propos'd by this second Embarkation, to reap all the Glory and Advantages he at first propos'd to himself by that Conquest.

On the other hand, *Hernando Cortez*, meeting with that incredible Success that has been related, and being furnish'd with a large Share of Treasure, by the Presents made him by

Montezuma

Montezuma and the vassal Princes, sent the *Mexico* whole, by two or three of his Officers, in a Ship to the King of *Spain*; who was just embarking for *Germany* as they arrived, in order to take upon him the Imperial Dignity, as he did soon afterwards, by the Name of *Charles* the fifth. The new Emperor was mightily pleased with the rich Present sent him by *Cortez*, especially as he looked upon it to be an Earhest of much greater Treasures; and, tho' he was not at Leisure to attend the Business of the *Indies* before he embarked, left Orders with his Council to take the supporting of *Cortez* into their Consideration. But such, it seems, was the Interest of *Diego Velasquez* at the Court of *Spain*, who had represented *Cortez* as a Traitor and Defector, that nothing was done towards the assisting of him till two Years afterwards; and the Governor of *Cuba* was left to pursue his Revenge, which had very near lost the *Spaniards* all they had possess'd themselves of on the Continent of *Mexico*, as I shall, in the next place, proceed to relate.

The Royal Chamber of Audience at *Hispaniola* saw the mischievous Consequences of a Diffension among themselves, at so critical a Juncture; and represented to *Diego Velasquez*, when they heard he was making Preparations to fall upon *Cortez*, that this would probably be of pernicious Consequence, and deprive them of those valuable Acquisitions they had already made, and perhaps end in the Ruin of them all: And, when they found *Diego Velasquez* was not to be prevailed on to lay aside the Expedition, they sent some Ecclesiasticks and Officers with *Narvaez*, who was constituted General of the Forces on-board the Fleet,

Mexico. Fleet, to mediate an Accommodation between him and Cortez; and, if that could not be effected, to dispose the Spaniards of both Armies to a Reconciliation, and to unite in the Cause of their Country and their common Sovereign.

Narvaez
and the
Spaniards
from Cuba
arrive at
Vera Cruz

Pamphilio de Narvaez, arriving with his Fleet near Vera Cruz, summoned Gonzala de Sandoval, who had been appointed Governor of that Fortress by Cortez, to surrender. But Gonzala was so far from complying with the Summons, that he sent those that came on that Errand Prisoners to Cortez at Mexico. However, Narvaez landed his Forces, and march'd directly to Zempoala; of which Cortez receiving Advice, at first seem'd Thunder-struck; but, recovering from his Surprize, resolv'd to make Narvaez Offers of Peace, and propose the uniting their Forces in the Service of their Prince. At the same time he represented to Montezuma, who was already acquainted with the Arrival of Narvaez, That the Spaniards under the Command of that General were Subjects to the King his Master, and were come upon a second Embassy to induce him to comply with the Overtures he had already made; but that he should dispose them to return to Spain with him, since he had already obtain'd the End of his Embassy.

Cortez
provides
to oppose
them.

To his own Men Cortez suggested, that he did not doubt to bring the Spaniards Narvaez had brought with him over to his Party; and that they would, in the end, probably prove such a Reinforcement, as would enable him to finish his Conquest of that Empire: And immediately applied himself to his Confederate Indians, to provide him with such Forces as might be necessary, in case he should not be able

able to accommodate Matters with *Narvaez*. In the mean time, the *Spanish* Prisoners arriving, which *Gonzalo de Sandoval* had sent up from *Vera Cruz*, among whom were an Ecclesiastic and a Notary, who had been sent by *Narvaez* to summon that Town, *Cortez* received them with great Civility; and assured them, the Governor of *Vera Cruz* had exceeded his Orders in making them Prisoners: And, having shewn them the great Power he exercised in the Court of *Mexico*, he made them very rich Presents; telling them, that he relied on their good Offices in disposing *Narvaez* to accept the Peace he had offer'd him: After which, he dismiss'd them, and order'd them to be conducted to that General with all imaginable Respect. After these, he sent Father *Bartholomew de Olmedo*, an Ecclesiastic of great Reputation, to propose a Treaty with *Narvaez*; and, if that did not succeed, to sound the Disposition of his Officers and Soldiers, and incline them to pacific Measures. He furnish'd the Father also with Jewels and rich Presents to the principal Officers, in order to render his Negotiation the more successful.

Father *Bartholomew*, on his Arrival in the Camp of *Narvaez*, gave him to understand, of what Advantage it would be to their Sovereign and their Country to unite their Arms; acquainting him with the State of the Conquest, and the numerous Alliances *Cortez* had made with the *Indian* Princes: But insinuated, that they should, however, have Occasion for their united Strength, to bring the *Mexicans* under their Subjection, who were naturally brave, and did not want military Skill; and, should they find there was a Misunderstanding among the

Mexico.

Spaniards, they might probably make their Advantages of it, and destroy them both, in order to free themselves from a foreign Yoke.

To which *Narvaez*, 'tis said, haughtily reply'd, that *Diego de Velasquez* had order'd him to enter into no Treaty with the Rebels, as he termed *Cortez* and his Party; but that his first and principal Business was to compel them to return to their Duty, telling him, that he should immediately proclaim them all Traytors, who adhered to *Cortez*, having brought sufficient Forces with him to compel their Obedience, and finish the Conquest of that Country.

Cortez corrupts the Officers of *Narvaez*.

The Father finding no Good to be done upon *Narvaez*, apply'd himself privately to several of the Officers and Soldiers, and especially to those Gentlemen, who came on purpose from *Hispaniola*, to mediate a Peace, as most conducive to their Prince's Interest; and distributed the Presents he had brought, with great Judgment. The Prisoners also, whom *Cortez* had released, were very lavish in his Praises: They described the Grandeur and Magnificence of the *Mexican* Court; the Sway that *Cortez* bore in it, and the Humanity and Courtesy, with which he treated all Mankind; which had such an Effect on the Soldiery, that most of them appear'd ready to join *Cortez*, who had already obtain'd so high a Character for his Valour and Conduct, and given such sensible Proofs of his Affection for them.

A Treaty between *Montezuma* and *Narvaez*.

In the mean time it appears, that *Montezuma*, was carrying on a private Negotiation with *Narvaez* the *Spanish* General, who had given him to understand, that he came with a Commission from the King of *Spain*, to call *Cortez*

Cortez to an Account for all the Violence and Extortion he had committed; that he and his Adherents were Fugitives and Rebels; and that he would immediately advance and restore his *Mexican* Majesty to his Liberty, and the peaceable Possession of his Dominions, which, it was evident, Cortez was endeavouring to usurp. Whereupon Montezuma made *Narvaez* some very considerable Presents, and shew'd a Disposition to enter into an Alliance with him for their common Defence.

In the mean time, Cortez was not idle; but as he was much more apprehensive of the Mischief he might suffer from the Forces sent against him by the Governor of *Cuba*, than of the Power of the *Mexicans*, he apply'd himself chiefly to gain the Officers of the Troops lately arrived, by Presents and Care-
Cortez endeavours to bring over the Spaniards sent against him to his Party.

sses, which was his principal View, in sending Father *Olmedo* with Offers of Peace to *Narvaez*. That Father therefore was no sooner return'd to him, with an Account of the Success of his Negotiations; but he resolv'd to take the Field against his Rival, before he had an Opportunity of concerting Measures with *Montezuma* and the *Mexican* Princes, and drawing them over to his Party. Having assign'd fourscore *Spaniards* therefore, under the Command of *Pedro de Alvarado*, to keep Garrison in *Mexico*, and secure *Montezuma* from making his Escape; the rest were order'd to be ready to march at an Hour's Warning: But going to take his Leave of his Royal Prisoner, before he set out, *De Solis* relates, that that Prince spoke to him in this Manner. He said, he had for some time observ'd the General to be thoughtful, for which no doubt he had Reason; for
He prepares to take the Field.

Mexico.

he had receiv'd repeated Advice, that *Narvaez*, who commanded the *Spaniards* lately arriv'd, was come with a Design to supplant him; and tho' his *Mexican* Majesty did not much wonder, that there should be private Piques and Quarrels between the Subjects of the same Prince; yet it was strange, they should be suffer'd to command two different Armies, and clash when the Interest of their Prince, and the publick Service required a Union in their Councils and Actions. He concluded therefore, that *one of them must be a Rebel to his King*.

The Answer of
Cortez.

To which *Cortez* answer'd, as 'tis said, that it was true, they were both the Subjects of the same Prince, and they both intended the Service of their King and Country; but were not indeed agreed in the Methods of doing it; he had resolv'd therefore to march to *Zempoala* with the best part of his Forces, in order to cultivate a good Understanding with *Narvaez* and his Troops; and did not doubt, either to dispose those *Spaniards* to return to their Ships, or to treat the Subjects of the *Mexican* Empire, as a People, whom the King of *Spain* had taken under his Protection.

Montezuma commended his Design; but observ'd, that as *Narvaez* had given out threatening Speeches, and seem'd to intend his Ruin, and commanded a Body of Forces of twice his Strength; it would be prudent for *Cortez* to reinforce his little Army with thirty or forty thousand *Mexicans*, which he would order to assemble forthwith for this Service, and direct his Generals to obey the Commands of *Cortez*: But he wisely refused the insidious Offer, placing but slender Confidence in the *Mexicans*, says the Historian. He was cautious

tious of entertaining Auxiliaries, that might ^{Mexico.} command him, knowing how he should be embarrassed in the Day of Battle with a known Enemy in Front, and pretended Friends in Flank and Rear.

Cortez, having given his Orders therefore to *Alvarado*, to have a strict Eye over *Montezuma*, and not suffer too great Numbers of the *Mexicans* to resort to him, or any long Conferences between them; and extorted a Promise from the Royal Prisoner, that he would not attempt an Escape in his Absence; telling him, he should soon return to *Mexico*, in much better Circumstances; began his March towards *Zempoala*, and taking *Tlascala* in his way, he was received with the highest Honours by that Republick: However, they gave him to understand, that they could not assist him with their Troops against the new-arriv'd *Spaniards*, whose Horses and Artillery they were not able to resist. Whereupon he proceeded in his March for *Zempoala*, taking an advantageous Post in the Neighbourhood of that City, where he could either treat, or defend himself against *Narvaez*, if he should be attack'd. And first, he made fresh Over- <sup>*Cortez* makes O-
vertures of
Peace to
Narvaez.</sup> tures to that General, for accommodating the Differences between them, and uniting their Forces in the Service of their Country; and even offered, 'tis said, to relinquish the Advantages of that Conquest, and go upon some other Enterprize with his Adherents, rather than the King's Service should suffer. And tho' *Narvaez* refused to give him any other Terms than those of surrendering at Discretion; yet the Concessions *Cortez* made, had such an Effect on the Officers and Soldiers, which *Narvaez* commanded, that *Cortez* was sensible, he

Mexico. he should meet with but a faint Resistance from them : And understanding by some Deserters, that *Narvaez* trusted so much to the Superiority of his Forces, that he kept but a very negligent Guard, he resolv'd to attempt to surprize his Enemy in the Night-time.

Cortez
surprizes
Narvaez,
and makes
him Pri-
soner.

The
Troops
of *Nar-
vaez* serve
under
Cortez.

Accordingly, in a very dark tempestuous Night, when *Narvaez* least expected such a Visit, *Cortez* fell upon his Quarters, and made him and his principal Officers Prisoners, before they were well awake : Whereupon the rest of his Troops flung down their Arms, and most of them enter'd into the Service of *Cortez*. And here it must be admitted, that *Cortez*, by his artful Treaties and Negotiations in the first place, and by his Courage and Conduct in defeating an Enemy so much superior to him in Numbers, and especially in Horse and Artillery, shew'd himself to be a good Soldier ; tho' he can never be allow'd to be a very great Statesman, that, with all his Success and Advantages, knew no other way of establishing himself, but by the Extirpation of the defenceless *Indians*.

The Infor-
mation of
the *Spani-
ards* left
in *Mexico*.

While *Cortez* was engaged in this Expedition against *Narvaez*, *Pedro de Alvarado*, who was left to command the *Spaniards* in *Mexico*, and secure the Person of *Montezuma*, behaved himself with that Insolence and Cruelty, and discover'd such an insatiable avaritious Temper, as united the whole City against him : The People became desperate, when they found there was no End of his Extortions, and that they were daily plunder'd and murder'd for their Wealth ; their Religion derided, and their very Gods defaced and demolish'd. But the principal Occasion of this Insurrection at *Mexico* was *Alvarado's* falling upon the *Mexi-*

can

can Nobility at a Religious Festival, when Mexico. they were most of them assembled on that Occasion, and engaged with the common People in that solemn Dance called *Mitotes*; wherein all Distinction is laid aside, and the whole City, Noblemen, and Plebeians, great and small, join annually in celebrating the Day.

The Bishop of *Chiapa* relates, that *Alvarado*, observing they had put on their Jewels and richest Ornaments on this Occasion, assembled his Soldiers, and fell upon them, putting above two thousand of the *Mexican* Nobility to the Sword, and plunder'd whatever was valuable about them. Nor are the Facts (either the Slaughter, or the Robbery) denied by any of the *Spanish* Historians; only they endeavour to justify the Action in their usual way; that is, by pretending there was a Plot of the *Mexicans* to destroy the *Spaniards* on that Day. Some pretend, that they were incited by *Narvaez* to fall upon the *Spaniards* of *Cortez's* Party; and that *Montezuma* himself encourag'd the Insurrection, in the Absence of that General, to obtain his Liberty: While others affirm, that *Montezuma* had no Share in the Conspiracy; but that his Subjects, encouraged by the Declarations of *Narvaez* against *Cortez*, and the Absence of most of the *Spaniards*, agreed to fall upon their Quarters, give their Emperor his Liberty, and free themselves from the Tyranny of the *Spanish* Garrison. Others say, that the *Indian* Priests were at the Bottom of the Conspiracy, seeing their Religion in danger, and another about to be introduced; and all agree, they were very active in animating their People to defend themselves against the Attacks of the *Spaniards*. It is also agreed, that

Alvarado
massacres
and plun-
ders the
Mexican
Nobility.

Mexico. that the Day before this solemn Festival, some of the *Mexican* Nobility and Priests attended *Alvarado*, apprized him of the assembling of the Multitude the next Day, to celebrate the Festival, that he might not be alarm'd on that Occasion; and actually obtained his Permission before they would resolve on the Solemnization of it: But then some of them pretend, that Arms were discover'd concealed in the Temples afterwards; and that the *Mexicans* only took the Opportunity of this Festival to put the Plot against the *Spaniards* in Execution.

However, those that speak most favourably of this Action, acknowledge, that *Alvarado* fell upon the *Mexicans* while they were disarm'd; and that they did not fall upon the *Spaniards*: That all the Jewels and rich Ornaments of the murder'd Nobility were carried off by the *Spaniards*; and that *Alvarado* never made any Excuse or Apology for the Outrage. Whereupon the *Mexicans*, expecting they should all be massacred if *Cortez* returned with a Reinforcement of Troops, assembled from all Parts, and attack'd the *Spanish* Quarters on every Side, chusing rather to die with their Arms in their Hands, than to be murder'd in cold Blood. And, altho' they were beaten off by the Artillery and Fire-Arms of the Besieged; yet, as they had cut off all their Provisions, the *Mexicans* would probably have starved *Alvarado*, if *Cortez* had not returned suddenly to his Relief: He sent therefore Express after Express to *Cortez*, to hasten his March; letting him know, that he should be obliged to surrender, if he was not speedily supplied and reinforced.

The *Mexi-*
cans unite
their
Forces
against
the *Spani-*
ards.

Cortez

Cortez had just finish'd the Defeat of *Narvaez*, when he received Advice of the Distress his People were in at *Mexico*; and, having incorporated all the Troops *Narvaez* brought over with his own, began his March towards *Mexico*, with a thousand *Spanish* Foot, an hundred Horse, and several thousand Confederate *Indians*; leaving at the same time Garrisons in the Towns of *Zempoala*, and *Vera Cruz*. Nor did the *Mexicans* offer to interrupt his March: They retired, upon his Approach, from the *Spanish* Quarters, and left that Part of the Town destitute of Inhabitants.

Mexico.
Cortez returns to *Mexico.*

Montezuma, 'tis said, met the General at his Return, and congratulated his Success; But he, having been inform'd of that Emperor's Negotiations with *Narvaez* and his own Subjects, in his Absence, in order to procure his Liberty, turned from *Montezuma* with all the Contempt imaginable; not so much as vouchsafing to speak to him. *Bernal Diaz*, who accompanied *Cortez* in this Expedition, says, that he now looked upon himself to be powerful enough to subdue the *Mexican* Empire, without courting *Montezuma* or his Subjects; and therefore carried every thing with a high Hand, or to that effect: Which, other Historians observe, was a very great Error; for, if the General had, on his returning in Triumph with such an Addition of Forces, enter'd into a Treaty with that Emperor and his Nobility, they would have yielded to almost any Terms; and he might have gained the Dominion of that Empire, for the King of *Spain* his Master, without any Bloodshed. But he was too much elated with his Success, to think of pacific Measures. On the contrary,

His Usage of *Montezuma*.

Mexico.
Cortez
treats the
Mexicans
as a con-
quer'd
People.

Revives
the Hosti-
lities with
them.

They at-
tack his
Quarters.

he resolved to give them all manner of Provocations, and even to render them desperate, that he might have a Colour to destroy them, and seize all their Possessions, whether Lands or Treasure. He had found a Garrison of fourscore *Spaniards* able to repel the whole Force of *Mexico*; and he did not doubt, now he saw himself at the Head of eleven hundred *Spanish* Horse and Foot, with a multitude of Confederate *Indians*, he should be able, by Force, to reduce the *Mexicans*, and make them Slaves: But he was near paying very dear for his Presumption; for, sending out a Detachment of four hundred *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*, in Search of the Enemy, who were retired to the farthest Part of the City, they were surrounded, and in danger of having their Retreat cut off; and he himself, with the rest of his Troops, escaped very narrowly being starved, or cut in pieces, as will appear in the ensuing Relation: For the *Mexicans*, render'd brave by their Despair, were not afraid to attack Cortez in his Quarters, tho' defended by a numerous Garrison and a Train of Artillery: And, when at any time he made a Sally, he found Intrenchments in the Streets, and the Bridges broken down, which render'd his Cavalry in a manner useless; and, tho' he usually came off victorious, he found he had committed a very great Error, in shutting himself up in *Mexico*, from whence it was almost impossible to make his Retreat, and where he found it impracticable to fetch in Provisions, the Enemy being Masters of all the Causeys that led to the Town, and of all the Boats upon the Lake: So that, if his People were not destroy'd by the continual Attacks of the Enemy,

Enemy, they must certainly in time be reduced by Famine. Mexico.

In this Distress *Cortex* thought fit to endeavour a Reconciliation with *Montezuma*, and make use of the Authority he still retained among his Subjects to induce them to lay down their Arms, and permit the *Spaniards* to march out of *Mexico*; which, it was presumed, they would readily come into, that they might get rid of a People so much dreaded, as well as hated by them. Accordingly, a Parley being proposed and agreed to, *Montezuma* appeared on the Battlements of the Palace; and, some of the *Mexican* Nobility advancing to hear what Overtures he would make them, the *Spaniards* tell us, their Emperor made a Speech to his Subjects; wherein he gently reprimanded them for taking up Arms without his Leave, tho' it was with an Intention to obtain the Liberty of their Prince; declaring, that he was in reality under no manner of Restraint, but remained with the *Spaniards* upon Choice: That he thought himself obliged to shew the *Spaniards* this Favour, on account of the Respect they had always paid him, and out of Duty to the Prince that sent them: That their Embassy being dispatch'd, he was about to dismiss these Foreigners from his Court; and desired his Subjects would lay down their Arms, and not interrupt their March, and he should readily pardon their having taken up Arms, or to that effect.

Whether this Speech is genuine or not, it is evident, the *Mexicans* had little Regard to it: Whatever their Emperor's Words were, they knew they were put into his Mouth by the *Spaniards*, whose Prisoner he was, and tended only to procure them a safe Retreat;

Mexico. and they were sensible, if they lost the Advantage they had, they must never expect such another Opportunity of getting rid of these unwelcome Guests. They had them now coop'd up in this Fortres, where no Relief could be brought them, and from whence it was scarce possible for them to retreat, if the *Mexicans* broke down the Bridges and Causeys upon the Lake, and made such Ditches and Trenches in the Streets as the *Spaniards* themselves had taught them: But foresaw, that if their Enemies ever got over the Lake again, they might not only receive fresh Reinforcements from *Spain* and their *Indian* Allies, but they must engage them to great Disadvantage in the open Country, having nothing to oppose their Horse and Artillery. The *Mexicans* resolved therefore not to consent to a Cessation of Arms; but rejected the Overture with Disdain, as being framed only to give their mortal Enemies an Opportunity of escaping out of their Hands, and reinforcing themselves, to the Destruction of their Country: And some Historians say, they were so enraged at the Overture, that they shot at their Emperor for making it, and mortally wounded him. Others say, he was wounded by Accident. On the other hand, the *Mexicans* gave out, that the *Spaniards* murder'd him afterwards in their Retreat, when they found they could not carry him off; which last seems to me much the most probable Opinion.

The *Mexicans* refuse to let *Cortez* retire.

He marches away in the Night.

Cortez, finding the *Mexicans* were not to be amused with insidious Proposals, from what Hand soever they came; that his Provisions were almost spent, and that it would be impracticable to make his Retreat in the Day-time, resolved to attempt it in a dark Night.

Having

Having divided the Treasure therefore amongst his Men, with which they were pretty well loaded, for it amounted to the Value of a Million of Crowns, he issued out of his Quarters at Midnight, the Weather being extremely tempestuous, whereby his March was for some time concealed; but he had not advanced a Mile upon the Causey, before he found himself attack'd on every Side by the *Mexicans*, both by Land and Water, the Lake being filled with their Canoes or Boats; and, as they had broke down the Bridges, and cut the Causey through in several Places, the *Spaniards* were in great Danger of being entirely cut off. *Cortez* indeed had foreseen this, and provided a portable Bridge to pass the Breaches in the Causey, which was of great Use to him in several Places: But the *Indians* found means to destroy this Bridge before they were all pass'd over, and their Rear-guard, consisting of two or three hundred *Spaniards*, and a thousand *Tlascalans*, was cut in pieces: They lost also their Artillery, Prisoners, Baggage, and Treasure, with six and forty Horses. However, *Cortez*, with the best part of his Forces, broke through the *Indians*, and escaped to the other Side of the Lake. Some impute this Loss to the Avarice of his Soldiers, who were so loaded with Gold and Silver, that they could scarce make use of their Arms; and possibly there may be some Truth in it: But, I believe, every one, who considers his Circumstances, must be of Opinion, that he was very fortunate in escaping so well. Had the Enemy provided a Body of Forces to oppose him on the farther Side of the Lake, he must inevitably have perish'd; but they did not expect his sallying out so suddenly, especially

Mexico.

He is attack'd by the *Mexicans*, and his Rear cut off.

Recovers the farther Side of the Lake.

Mexico.

cially in that tempestuous Season; and therefore were not provided to attack them.

De Solis, the Historian, endeavours to give us a very particular Account of this Action; admires the Valour and Conduct of *Cortez* and his Officers, and informs us how every one distinguish'd himself in this memorable Retreat: But, as he says just before, that it was performed in a dark tempestuous Night, and in the utmost Hurry and Confusion, no great Regard is to be given to the Particulars he has given us. He proceeds to inform us, that they arrived, just as it was Day-light, on the firm Land; and thought themselves very happy that there was no Army to oppose them there, and that they were pursued no farther, till they had Time to form and recover themselves from their Consternation.

Montezuma and his Sons said to be murder'd in this Retreat.

This good Fortune, it seems, was owing to the Compassion the *Mexicans* express'd for the two Sons of *Montezuma*, and several Princes of the Royal Blood, whom they found slaughter'd among the *Spaniards*, when the Day-light appeared. The *Mexicans* relate, that *Montezuma* himself was of this Number; and that the *Spaniards* murder'd both him and his Sons, when they found they could not carry them off. The *Spaniards*, on the other hand, say, that *Montezuma* was killed before, by the Arrows of the *Mexicans*; and that the Princes also were accidentally killed in this Engagement, while it was dark, and they could not distinguish Friends from Foes. But however that was, it is agreed, the Princes were found dead, pierced through with many Wounds; and the *Mexicans* deferred the Pursuit of the *Spaniards*, to solemnize the Exequies of those two Princes, or of *Montezuma* himself. To which

The *Mexicans* solemnize their Funeral.

which piece of Piety, *Cortez*, and the *Spaniards* Mexico. who were left alive, in a great measure, ow'd their Safety.

The *Spaniards*, having halted some time to refresh themselves, and take Care of their wounded Men, continued their March towards *Tlascala*, the Country of their faithful Allies and Confederates: But they had not advanced many Leagues before they were again overtaken and attack'd by the *Mexicans*, at a time when they were so fatigued and harra's'd, that had not *Cortez* taken Possession of a Temple, surrounded by a Wall of a large Extent, that very fortunately lay in his Way, he would have found it difficult to have repulsed the Enemy. But the *Mexicans*, finding they could make no Impression on the *Spaniards*, as they lay entrench'd within those Walls, thought fit to found a Retreat. However, *Cortez*, apprehending he should be distress'd here for want of Provisions, began his March again at Midnight, with great Silence, in hopes to have got the Start of the Enemy so far, that he should have reached the *Tlascalan* Territories before they could have overtaken him: But, to his great Surprise, being arrived on the Top of a very high Mountain, he discover'd the whole Forces of the *Mexicans*, consisting (according to their Historians) of two hundred thousand Men, drawn up in *Battalia*, in the Valley of *Otumba*, through which it was necessary to pass, in his Way to *Tlascata*.

They continue the Pursuit.

Whereupon *De Solis* relates, *Cortez* made only this short Speech to his Officers; WE MUST EITHER DIE, OR CONQUER: THE CAUSE OF OUR GOD FIGHT FOR US. And, finding an uncommon Ardour in his Soldiers to engage, immediately led them on.

The Battle of Otumba.

The

Mexico. The Fight, they pretend, was for some time bloody and obstinate; and that *Cortez*, apprehending his Men would be wearied out by the continual Supplies of fresh Forces which the *Indians* poured in upon him, gave a surprizing Turn to the Battle, by attacking the Imperial Standard carried by the *Mexican* General, who was surrounded by their Nobility: For, having routed them, killed the General, and taken the Standard, the rest of the Troops turned their Backs, and fled; and were pursued with incredible Slaughter by the *Tlascalans*, as well as the *Spaniards*, who made themselves ample Amends, with the Spoils of the Enemy, for the Treasure they lost on retiring from the City of *Mexico*.

The *Spaniards* victorious.

They ascribe it to a Miracle.

Rather a fortunate Escape, than a Victory.

An Embassy from the *Mexicans* to the *Tlascalans*.

They tell us, indeed, as usual, that their Protector St. *James* visibly fought for them; and that they were obliged to a Miracle, at last, for their Victory. But as they relate, at the same time, that the *Mexicans* durst never oppose their Horse or Fire-Arms, a General of an ordinary Capacity might, one would think, have obtained a Victory, armed with such Advantages, over the naked defenceless *Indians*, without the Help of Miracles. And, however great and decisive this Victory is represented to be, it appears, that *Cortez* continued his Retreat from *Mexico*, and did not think himself safe till he arrived at the Country of his Friends and Confederates the *Tlascalans*: Nor had he remained long here, before an Embassy came to that Republic, from the new-elected Emperor *Quetzlavaca*, to negotiate a Peace between the two Nations of *Mexico* and *Tlascala*, and propose the uniting their Forces against their common Enemy the *Spaniard*: And, tho' a Majority of the Senate agreed

agreed to remain firm to their Alliance with Mexico. Cortez; yet there were those amongst them that represented it was no less the Interest of the *Tlascalans*, than of the *Mexicans*, to drive these Foreigners out of their Country; for that they plainly intended the Subversion of their Religion, as well as Government, and to bring them under the Power of an unknown arbitrary Dominion; whereas they had hitherto maintained their Freedom, and were never subject to the Will of any Prince whatever.

But, it seems, the *Mexicans* were more dreaded by this Republic than the *Spaniards*; and the generality of that People still looked upon the *Spaniards* to be sent from Heaven to their Assistance against that ancient Enemy of their State. The Ambassadors from Mexico therefore were dismiss'd, with some Marks of Contempt, and Preparations made to carry on the War against that Empire, in Confederacy with the *Spaniards*. The *Tlascalans* refuse to quit the Party of Cortez.

The *Mexicans* were more successful in their Negotiations with the City and Territory of *Tepeaca*, a Country that lay between *Tlascala* and the Spanish Fort of *Vera Cruz*. They incited this People to take up Arms against the *Spaniards*; and the *Tepeacans*, having concluded an Alliance with Mexico, actually cut off some small Parties that Cortez sent from *Tlascala* to *Vera Cruz*; insomuch, that the General found it absolutely necessary to reduce *Tepeaca*, in order to keep open his Communication with the Sea: And accordingly, both the *Spaniards* and the *Tlascalans* made Preparations to invade *Tepeaca*. The *Mexicans*, on the other hand, sent them a Reinforcement of Troops; and a general Battle ensued; wherein Cortez was so fortunate as to defeat their united Forces. Af-

Mexico.
Tepeaca
 subdued
 by Cortez.

ter which, the City and Territory of *Tepeaca* submitted to the Conqueror, who took a severe Revenge on that unhappy People, murdering great Numbers of them in cold Blood, and selling the rest for Slaves. And a *Spanish* Fortrels was erected at *Tepeaca*, to which they gave the Name of *Segura de la Frontera*, or *The Security of the Frontier*; which was the second Colony the *Spaniards* fix'd in that Part of the Continent. *Cortez* also reduced the City of *Guacachula*, and several other Towns, by the Assistance of his *Indian* Confederates, of whom he had not less than one hundred thousand in his Army at this time: For *Cortez* had learnt, from his Misfortunes at *Mexico*, to regulate his Conduct. He found it necessary now to cultivate a good Correspondence with the Caciques and Princes of the Country, and to take their Troops into his Service, tho' he had formerly slighted their Assistance pretty much. He saw his Error also in neglecting to possess himself of such Towns and Passes as might keep open his Communication with the Sea, with his own People at *Vera Cruz*, and with his Allies. Having taken a particular Survey therefore of the Country, he made himself Master of all such Posts as might be of Advantage to him in reducing the City of *Mexico*, which was ever his principal View: And, as he was sensible there was no approaching that City by Land, but on the Causeys, which might be broken down, he order'd thirteen Brigantines and Sloops to be built, which would make him Master of the Navigation of the Lake, and enable him to attack the Town on every Side by Water, as well as Land. The Timbers and Planks of these he caused to be prepared by the *Spanish* Carpenters,

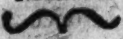
Vessels
 built for
 the Siege
 of *Mexico*.

ters, assisted by several thousand *Indians*, at *Mexico*, *Vera Cruz*; and afterwards made the poor Natives carry them on their Shoulders over the Mountains to the Lake of *Mexico*, a Journey of near three hundred Miles; and here the Brigantines were put together, and launch'd. While these Vessels were building, *Cortez* assembled an Army of two hundred thousand Confederate *Indians*, and made himself Master of *Tezcuco*, and several other considerable Towns upon the Lake; where he laid up Magazines of Ammunition and Provision, to carry on the intended Siege of the Capital. He was so fortunate also, before he enter'd upon this grand Enterprize, to be joined by near three hundred *Spaniards* from *Cuba* and *Jamaica*, who chose to follow his Fortunes, tho' they were sent out by those who were no Friends to *Cortez*, and with a View of depriving him of the Advantage of this Conquest; and with these he received a Supply of Arms and Ammunition, and some Recruits of Horses.

Cortez possesses himself of the Posts about that City.

Receives a Reinforcement of *Spaniards*.

Thus prepared and reinforced, *Cortez* commanded a Captain, five and twenty *Spaniards*, and twelve Rowers, to go on board each of the thirteen Brigantines: He also placed one of his Field-pieces on board every one of the Vessels; and, while his Fleet sailed to take a View of the City, he possess'd himself of the three principal Causeys leading thither, in order to carry on as many Attacks by Land. All the *Europeans* *Cortez* had in his Army at this time amounted to no more than nine hundred, of which about two hundred were Musketteers and Cross-bows, eighty-six were Horse, and the rest Pikemen; and his Train of Artillery

Mexico. consisted of eighteen Field-pieces, fifteen where-
 of were Brass.

The Siege
 of Mexico
 commen-
 ces.

The first Engagement with the *Mexicans* happen'd upon the Water ; for, when the *Spaniards* approach'd the City with their Brigantines, an innumerable Swarm of Canoes and Periagoues (*Indian Boats*) came out of the Canals of the City to oppose them ; whose Feathers and Arms, says *De Solis* the Historian, afforded a Prospect both beautiful and terrible. They seem'd to cover the Lake : But the Brigantines, having the Advantage of the Wind, run in among the Canoes, sunk and overfet them at pleasure, having scarce any Occasion to make use of their Arms. Whereupon those Canoes that escaped the first Shock, fled, with the utmost Precipitation, back to the City ; whither they were followed by the Brigantines, and several great Shot fired into the Town, to terrify the Inhabitants. After which, the Brigantines retired ; and the next Day some Progress was made at the three Attacks by Land ; but the Enemy had made such Breaches and Intrenchments on the Causeys, as render'd the Approaches very difficult : And, whenever the *Spaniards* advanced to attack them, Canoes full of armed *Indians* issued from the Town, and charged them in Flank ; which obliged *Cortez* to order some of the Brigantines to support his Land Forces on the several Causeys, and beat off the Canoes : He also caused some thousand Canoes to be made, and manned by his Confederates, that might follow the *Mexicans* into the Shallows and Creeks, where his Brigantines could not pursue them. But, notwithstanding all these Precautions, the *Spanish* Historians relate, that the *Mexicans*, by their Stratagems, gained several Advantages

Advantages of *Cortez*. At one time, they laid an Ambuscade of Canoes among the Reeds of the Lake, and were very near carrying off some of his Brigantines: At another, they broke down one of the Causeys, cut off his Retreat, and took him Prisoner: But he was rescued out of their Hands as they were carrying him away. However, there were about sixty *Spaniards* and a thousand *Tlascalans* killed or taken in this Action, and many more wounded; and he was forced to leave one of his great Guns behind him. This Misfortune obliged the *Spaniards* to carry on their Attacks with more Caution and Circumspection for the future. It is related, that they were forced to be upon the Defensive after this Accident, till their wounded Men were recover'd, and they had reinforced their Army with some Bodies of Confederate *Indians*. And here again they have Recourse to Miracles; and tell us, that their wounded Men were healed in a few Days, only by applying Oil to their Wounds, and repeating some Passages out of the *Psalms* over them, which operated by way of Charm. But their Writers are not agreed, whether these Cures were to be ascribed to a good or an evil Spirit: And, I perceive, these were only Flesh-Wounds that were thus healed. The Weapons of the *Indians* seldom broke any Bones; and every one knows, that ordinary Flesh-Wounds, if they are kept clean, will heal of themselves frequently, without the Assistance of Medicines or Miracles.

Mexico.

Cortez repuls'd in one of his Attacks, and taken;

Another pretended Miracle.

And now, the wounded Men being recover'd, and the Army of the Confederate *Indians* recruited, so that it amounted again to two hundred thousand Men, *Cortez* resolved to give a general Assault to the City; and accordingly,

A general Assault.

Mexico. cordingly, having order'd his Forces to advance at all the three Attacks, they filled up the Breaches and Trenches that had been made in the Causeys, and drove the Enemy back into the Town: Each Body made a Lodgment within the City, and fortified it; but could not advance far that Night, the Enemy having cut Trenches and barricado'd all the Streets.

Mexico taken.

The Emperor taken.

The Slaughter of the Mexicans at this Siege.

The next Day, the *Spaniards* got more Ground; and, on the third, repulsed the Enemy on every Side, and advanced to the great Square in the middle of the Town, where *Cortez* drew up his united Forces; the Enemy retiring to the farther part of the Town, and fortifying themselves there. Whereupon *Cortez* thought fit to offer them Terms; and they agreed to treat, with a View of amusing him, as their Historians relate, till the Emperor and his Nobility made their Escape, in their Canoes, to the farther Side of the Lake: Of which *Cortez* being apprized, renew'd the Hostilities; and *Guatimozin*, the Emperor, with the principal *Mexican* Nobility, were taken by the Brigantines in the Lake, as they were endeavouring to get away. Whereupon all the rest of their Forces flung down their Arms, and submitted to Mercy; and *Cortez* took Possession of that Capital, on the 13th of *August* 1521, being the Day of *Sa. Hypolito*, who was thereupon made the Patron of *Mexico*.

The *Spanish* Historians relate, that no less than one hundred thousand *Mexicans* fell by the Sword in the Defence of this City, besides great Numbers that perish'd by Famine, and other Calamities: And that this Conquest was attended with the Submission of most of the neighbouring Provinces, who consented to acknowledge

knowledge themselves Subjects of the King of Mexico.
Spain (the then Emperor Charles V.)

The City of Mexico being thus reduced, The Spoils
Cortez distributed the Plunder among his Sol- divided.

diers, reserving only a Fifth, with the most
remarkable Curiosities, for the King; which Part sent
he sent to Spain by some of his principal Offi- to the Em-
cers, together with an Account of his Conquest, peror.

and the State of that Country; desiring his
Majesty would confirm the Magistrates he had
appointed to govern that Country, with the
Grants of the conquer'd Lands and Indian Slaves
he had made, to his Soldiers. Among the rich
Jewels Cortez sent to the Emperor, 'tis said,
there was a fine Emerald of a pyramidal Form,
as large as the Palm of a Man's Hand at the
biggest End; a noble Set of Gold and Silver
Vessels; several Things cast in Gold and Sil-
ver, viz. Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fruits, and
Flowers; Bracelets, Rings, Pendants, and
other ornamental Pieces of Plate and Jewels;
some of their Idols, Priests Vestments of Cot-
ton, Furs, and Feathers of various Colours.

The General requested his Imperial Majesty
to send over Persons qualified to survey the
Country, that it might be improved to the
best Advantage; with Priests and Missionaries;
for the Conversion of the People; as also Cat-
tle, Seeds, and Plants, to improve the Lands:
But, 'tis said, he provided particularly against
the sending over Physicians or Lawyers. What
could be his Reason against sending Physicians,
is not easy to be conceived; but he had cer-
tainly all the Reason in the World to desire
that neither Laws nor Lawyers should be ad-
mitted there, having determined to treat the
Natives as Slaves, and seize both their Persons
and Possessions, and indeed to usurp an arbi-
trary

Mexico. contrary Dominion over both *Spaniards* and *Indians* in that new World.

The Provinces that depended on *Mexico* having submitted to the *Spaniards*, as has been related already, *Cortez* summon'd the more distant *Indian* Princes to come and acknowledge the King of *Spain* for their Sovereign; of whom one of the Chief was the King of *Mecboacan*, a Territory which lies to the Westward of *Mexico*, upon the Coast of the South Sea.

Mecboacan
submits.

To this Prince *Cortez* sent *Montano*, and three other *Spaniards*, attended by twenty *Mexican* Chiefs, with a Present of *European* Utensils and Toys; and, when they came within half a League of *Mecboacan*, they were met by fourscore Lords of the Country, each of them attended by ten thousand of their Vassals: (according to the *Spanish* Historians;) who let the *Spaniards* know, that they were come from their King, to welcome them into their Country: And, when they arrived in the City, a House was appointed for the Reception of these Ambassadors; all manner of Provisions and Refreshments, that the Country afforded, were sent in; and they were entertain'd in a very splendid manner. Which agrees but ill with the following Part of the Story: For they tell us, the King himself came to the *Spanish* Quarters, soon after their Arrival, demanded who they were? whence they came? and what brought them from so remote a Country? Whether they had nothing to eat at home, that they prey'd upon Strangers? And what the *Mexicans* had done, that they had destroy'd their City? Demanding if they design'd to do the like by him? If they did,

he said, he should not tamely submit to it, Mexico.
but oppose Force to Force.

To which the *Spaniards* answer'd, They came from the Emperor of the *Christians*, to cultivate a Friendship with him, to traffick with his People, and to instruct them in the Worship of the true God. (These were ever the glorious Pretences of the *Spaniards*, tho' their Actions sufficiently shew they had baser Views.)

The King of *Mechoacan*, *Herera* relates, was at this time determined to have sacrificed the *Spanish* Ambassadors; but that the *Mexicans*, who accompanied them, assured that Prince, if he offer'd any Violence to their Persons, their General would infallibly take a severe Revenge on him and his Kingdom; giving an Account of the Wonders he had done in their Country with his Fire-Arms, Horses, Artillery, &c. At which the King was so astonish'd, that he order'd the *Spaniards* to be treated with the utmost Respect; and, admitting them to an Audience, he told them, that he had heard of the Fame of their General, and desired to become subject to the mighty Monarch from whence he came, who commanded such Godlike Men: That, in return to this Embassy, he should send some of his principal Nobility to attend on the General; and desired they would take a Present with them, which he sent as a Testimony of his Esteem and Affection for that great Man; and, soon after, as much Gold and Silver was sent in as amounted to an hundred thousand Dollars, besides a great Quantity of Cloathing, Jewels and Ornaments, and a Present for each of the Ambassadors; with which they return'd

Mexico, to *Mexico*, attended by the *Mechoacan* Noblemen who were sent Ambassadors to *Cortez*.

The General, to confirm these *Indians* in the great Opinion they had conceived of him, after he had complimented and entertain'd the Ambassadors in a very splendid manner, ordered his Troops to be drawn up, and to exercise and skirmish before them, making several Discharges of his Artillery and small Arms, to their great Amazement.

The Ambassadors returning, and making their Report to their Prince of what they had been Witnesses of at *Mexico*, he resolved to pay *Cortez* a Visit in Person; and, being arrived in that City, 'tis said, he made a Speech to the General; wherein he acquainted him, he was come to make his Submission personally, and acknowledge his Subjection to the King of *Spain*, now his and their Sovereign; and should, from that Day, be ready to receive his Commands; desiring they would accept the Treasure he brought with him, as a Tribute and Earnest of his future Obedience. Whereupon *Cortez* acquainted him, how happy he would be in becoming subject to so great an Emperor, who desired nothing more than his Conversion, and to have him instructed in the Religion of the *Christians*; and, having entertained his Royal Guest for several Days, suffered him to return to his own Country.

Mechoacan
treated as
a con-
quer'd
Province.

But *Cortez* soon let the King of *Mechoacan* know, that he had a farther View than to make him acknowledge the King of *Spain* for his Sovereign; for he commanded *Christopher Olid* to march into *Mechoacan*, with an hundred *Spanish* Foot, forty Horse, and several thousand Confederate *Indians*, who were kindly received by that Prince at first; but, when
he

he found they proceeded to take Possession of ^{Mexico.} his chief Towns, and treat his Subjects as a conquer'd People, he began to stand upon his Defence; for which he was, in the *Spanish* Phrase, severely *chastised*; that is, great Numbers of his People were massacred and murder'd in cold Blood. And *Cortez*, having through this Country, penetrated to the South Sea, erected Forts, and built Ships there, for farther Discoveries on that Side. *Gonzalo de Sandoval* also was sent to subdue the Countries near *Tobasco* and *Tecoantepec*, on the North Sea: And *Pedro de Alvarado*, another Commander, was detach'd, with a Body of *Spaniards* and Confederate *Indians*, to take Possession of the Countries bordering upon the Vale of *Guaxaca*, to the Eastward of *Mexico*; who all submitted to the Conqueror.

Other Countries treated in the same manner.

While *Cortez* was thus employ'd in reducing all the Country to his Obedience, in the Name of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, *Christopher de Tapia* arrived at *Vera Cruz*, with a Commission from that Prince to command all the new Conquests: But the Garrison *Cortez* had left at *Vera Cruz* so threaten'd and terrified *de Tapia*, that he was glad to make his Escape, and leave the General in Possession of *Mexico*. Having got rid of this Rival, *Cortez* march'd in Person to the Province of *Panuco*, which he obliged to submit to him. Whereupon he divided the Country, and all the *Indian* Inhabitants, among his Officers and Soldiers, who treated them as Slaves. And this was his Practice in every Province, whether the People voluntarily submitted to him, or were compelled to it by Force.

Panuco subdued.

But, notwithstanding this barbarous Usage of the Natives, and his refusing to resign his

Mexico. Government to those who were sent to succeed him in his Command; so powerful were the rich Presents he from Time to Time sent to the Emperor, and such were the Representations made to that Prince in his Favour, that *Cortez* was declared Captain-General and Governor of *New Spain* by the Emperor. The Governors of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba* were commanded to reinforce that General, and give him all possible Assistance. Whereupon, finding himself now established in his Command, he set about rebuilding the City of *Mexico*, which he had burnt and demolish'd: He assigned Places for building Churches, and other public Edifices; laid out Market-places, divided the best part of the Ground among the *Spaniards*, and the rest among the Natives, giving them Encouragement to build and people the Place again: He assign'd one quarter part particularly to *Montezuma*, a Son of the late Emperor's, and another to one of the most popular *Indian* Generals; and they soon erected a much finer Town than that which had been destroy'd, having now the Advantage of Iron Tools, Carriages and Engines, which they wanted before. But nothing could be more magnificent than the Palace *Cortez* erected for himself, upon the Ground where *Montezuma's* Palace formerly stood; about which, 'tis said, he used seven thousand Beams of Cedars, some of them an hundred and twenty Foot in Length: He also provided himself with a numerous Train of Artillery, consisting of thirty-five Pieces of Brass Cannon, and seventy of Iron; which gave the *Indians* a vast Opinion of his Power. But that which was his real Strength, and did him most Service, both in *Mexico* and *Europe*, was the prodigious Wealth he

Cortez
confirm'd
in his Go-
vernment.

He re-
builds
Mexico.

His own
Palace.

he acquired, by the Plunder of all the Provinces he became Master of, and the rich Mines of Gold and Silver he every Day discovered, or violently took from the Owners.

Mexico.

The Provinces of *Guatemala*, *Chiapa*, *Soconusco*, and several others bordering upon the *South Sea*, had already submitted to *Cortez*, and sent him Presents by way of Tribute. However, under pretence that they were not sincere, and assisted the Enemies of the *Spaniards*, *Alvarado* was sent to chastise them; that is, to seize on the Country and Inhabitants, massacre some, and enslave the rest; which he executed with great Cruelty, as will appear hereafter; and was, for this Service, made Governor, or rather Proprietor, of all *Guatemala*, and the Natives in it, who were treated by this Monster of a Man worse than Brutes, sold for Slaves to work in the Mines, and compell'd to carry Burdens beyond their Strength, till they were worn out in such Services.

The Tyranny and Cruelty of the Conquerors, particularly of *Alvarado*.

Cortez was generally fortunate in the Choice he made of the Commanders he sent to reduce the several Provinces; but he appears to have been mistaken in *Christopher Olid*; for this Officer, elated with Success, threw off his Dependence on *Cortez*, and was about to set up for himself: However, he was soon after assassinated by some of the General's Creatures, and his Soldiers thereupon laid down their Arms.

In the mean time, Commissioners came over from *Spain*, to enquire into the Conduct of *Cortez* and his Fellow-Conquerors, as they called themselves; repeated Complaints having been sent to *Europe* of their Cruelties and Oppressions, which were found to be so many, and so manifest, that *Cortez* was removed from his Government for a time, his Palace and Effects seiz'd,

Commissioners appointed to enquire into his Oppressions.

Mexico.
Honduras
and Yucatan
conquer'd by
Cortez.

He purchases a
Pardon of
the Court
of Spain.

He hangs
the Mexican
Emperor.

seiz'd, and he was threaten'd with Capital Punishment: To avoid which, he assembled his Army, and march'd against the large Provinces of *Honduras* and *Yucatan*; of which he made an entire Conquest, and, in the end, so cunningly managed his Affairs, by his Agents in the Court of *Spain*, that they agreeing to pay the Emperor (who wanted Money extremely at that time) two hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, he was restored to the Government of *Mexico*, with the Titles of *Don* and *Adelentado*, or Lord-Lieutenant; had several new Privileges conferred upon him, and was allowed to bear the same Arms as the Emperor of *Mexico* had borne. Such is the almighty Power of Gold; and thus are the greatest Princes frequently compelled to countenance the greatest Villanies when they become necessitous. And now *Cortez* acted more despotically than ever; but, to shew himself impartially cruel, he hanged the Emperor *Quatemoc*, who was elected after the Death of *Montezuma*, with two other tributary Kings, under pretence they were forming a Conspiracy against him, tho' he had kept them always Prisoners, in his own Quarters, from the time that *Mexico* was taken.

In the Year 1527, the Complaints against *Cortez* being revived, the Emperor sent over *Lewis Ponce de Leon*, as supreme Judge of *New Spain*, to examine the Conduct of *Cortez*: But this Judge died soon after his Arrival, suspected to be poisoned by *Cortez*, or his Creatures. However, before his Death, he appointed *Mure de Aguilar* to succeed him; but he also died soon after, appointing *Alonso de Estrada* his Successor: But *Cortez* refused to submit to his Judgment; alledging, that his
Predecessor

Predecessor had no Power to appoint a Successor. Orders afterwards arriving from *Spain*, to confirm *De Aguilar* in the Post of supreme Judge, he commanded *Cortez* to remove from the City of *Mexico*, and took the Administration out of his Hands; and, sending over a just Representation of the Outrages committed by that General and his Officers, three other Commissioners were sent to *Mexico*, to bring *Cortez* to a Trial, and it was generally expected he would have lost his Head. But he found means, in some measure, to pacify the Court of *Spain*, and obtained Leave to go over thither, and make his Defence before the Emperor: He carried with him such a prodigious Treasure, that all his Faults seem'd to be entirely forgot; his Majesty countenanced him, seem'd delighted with his Conversation, and to give Credit to every thing he said; rewarding and honouring this barbarous Tyrant, instead of punishing him; particularly, his Imperial Majesty made him a Grant of the whole Valley of *Aristo* in *Mexico*, with all the Towns and Villages belonging to it; in which he had twenty-four thousand Vassals: He created him Marquis of the Valley of *Guaxaca*, and constituted him Generalissimo of all the Forces in *New Spain*; tho' it was thought fit to exclude him absolutely from the Civil Government: And several strict Orders were made for the better Usage of the Natives for the future; particularly, that they should not be obliged to carry Burdens like Pack-horses on the Road; and that every *Spaniard*, who should so load an *Indian*, should, for the first Offence, forfeit an hundred Pieces of Eight; for the second Offence, three hundred; and for the third, should forfeit all his Goods: That the *Indians* should not

Mexico.

He goes over to Spain, and buys his Peace again.

Orders in Favour of the Natives.

Mexico. not be compelled to work in the Mines, or in
 their Fortifications or Buildings, unless for
 Wages, and that voluntarily: That no *Indi-
 ans* should be carried out of their respective
 Countries, tho' really Slaves: That the Ma-
 gistrates should have Power to determine who
 were Slaves, and who were not: And that the
Spaniards should detain no *Indian* Women in
 their Houses, on any pretence whatever. And,
 that these Orders might be the better observed,
 the Bishop of *Mexico*, and the Superiors of the
Dominicans and *Franciscans*, &c. were made
 Protectors of the *Indians*; among whom was
 the celebrated Father *Bartholomew de Casas*,
 afterwards Bishop of *Chiapa*, who laid the
 Grievances of the *Indians* before the Court of
Spain, and procured a Redress of them in
 some measure; tho', he complains, the Empe-
 ror's Orders were very ill observed at that
 distance. But, from these intended Regula-
 tions, we may gather what the Grievances of
 the *Indians* were; namely, their being obliged
 to carry Burdens beyond their Strength; to
 work in the Mines, Fortifications, and Build-
 ings, with such Rigour, that they perish'd in
 the Service; that their Women, Wives and
 Daughters were taken from them, and abused
 by the lustful *Spaniard*; that they made Slaves
 of the Natives without Distinction, and trans-
 ported them to the Mines in distant Countries,
 where they perish'd: And it was many Years
 before these Abuses were fully redress'd, even
 in those Countries that peaceably submitted to
 their Dominion. As to the Natives who fled
 to the Woods and Mountains, they were always
 very cruelly used, when they fell into the Hands
 of the *Spaniards*, as their Posterity are at this
 Day. And it is not very strange, if the *In-
 dians*

Their
 Grievan-
 ces.

dians have sometimes retaliated the Injuries ^{Mexico.} they received from a People that so violently and unjustly expelled them from their Country, and treated them as Slaves. But to return to the History.

Before *Cortez* left *Old Spain*, he procured all the Grants of the Lands and Territories of the *Indians*, which he had given to his Soldiers, to be confirm'd; and, that he might not want Employment now the Civil Government of *Mexico* was taken from him, he was constituted Governor of all the Continent and Islands he should discover in the *South Sea*; and a twelfth Part of such Discoveries was granted to him and his Heirs. The General, having taken his Leave of the Emperor, embarked soon after for *New Spain*, and arrived at *Vera Cruz* in *July* 1530; and, not being suffer'd to go to the City of *Mexico*, took up his Residence at *Tezcucoc*, some few Leagues distant from it, where he had a very great Court, consisting of his *Indian* Confederates and of his Officers and Soldiers, amongst whom he had distributed the Lands of the subdued Provinces. The General, before his going to *Old Spain*, had sent three Ships through the *South Sea* to the *Moluccoes*, or *Spice Islands*, in the *East-Indies*; where, his People encountering the *Portuguese*, who had already got Possession of those Islands, his Ships and most of the Men were destroy'd, some few only returning to *Old Spain*, with an Account of their Misfortune. Before *Cortez* received Advice of this Accident, he fitted out two other Ships on the *South Sea*, to make Discoveries towards *California* and the North-west; but these met with no better Success than the Fleet he had sent to the *East-Indies*, most of the Men perishing in

Cortez attempts new Discoveries.

Mexico.
He is unsuccessful.

He goes to Spain, and is not suffer'd to return to Mexico.

His Death

the Attempt. He again fitted out two Ships more, in the Year 1531, to make Discoveries to the North-west; but these also were as unfortunate as the former. Whereupon *Cortez* embarked on the *South* Sea himself, but did not meet with better Success than those he had sent upon Discoveries before him: He was obliged to return, after he had sustained innumerable Hazards and Fatigues, without meeting with any thing answerable to the Pains and Expence he had been at. In the Year 1539, however, *Cortez* fitted out three Ships more in the *South* Sea, which sailed to the Northward till they arrived in 50 Degrees and upwards, and his People landed in *California* and the opposite Continent, but made no Settlements: And the General, having been at a vast Expence in these several Naval Expeditions, went over to *Old Spain* again, in the Year 1539, in hopes of prevailing on that Court to reimburse him his Charges. But the Ministry expecting to have received an Increase, rather than a Diminution of their Treasure, from these Expeditions, *Cortez* did not meet with so favourable a Reception as formerly: The Court began to give Credit to the repeated Complaints that had been made against him; and tho' it was not thought fit to proceed rigorously against the General, since he had been instrumental in adding so large and wealthy a Country to the Crown of *Spain*, yet he was never suffer'd to return to *Mexico* again; and he remained a kind of Prisoner at large in the Emperor's Court, where he died on the 2d Day of *December* 1545, in the 62d Year of his Age; and his Body was afterwards transported to *Mexico*, and inter'd in the Cathedral of that City.

How

How the *Spaniards* behaved themselves to- wards the Natives on the Conquest (as it was called) of this new World, will best appear from the Bishop of *Chiapa* above-cited, who resided there at the Time of the Conquest, and, during the Life of *Cortez*, applied himself to the Court of *Spain*, to put a Stop to the barbarous Usage of that People, after he had been an Eye-witness of their unparallel'd Sufferings.

This Prelate drew up a Narrative of these Transactions in the Year 1532, which he re- publish'd in the Year 1542, when *Cortez* was at the Court of *Spain*; which he dedicated to Prince *Philip*, Son of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, and afterwards his Successor in that King- dom: In which Dedication he puts that Prince in mind, that God, for the Benefit of Man- kind, had appointed Kings and Princes to be the Fathers and Protectors of their People; and it was to be presumed, he observed, if any Violences or Injuries were committed in their Dominions, and not redress'd, that the Prince had no notice of them; it being his Interest to promote the Good and Welfare of his Sub- jects.

That, considering the intolerable Mischiefs the Crown of *Spain* sustained in the new World, by the Tyranny, Oppression, and un- heard-of Cruelties of the Generals and Adventur- ers, to whom those Countries had been granted in Propriety respectively, by the Name of *Conquests*; he should think himself, he said, in some measure, guilty of them, if he con- cealed the Loss of that infinite Number of Souls and Bodies he had seen destroy'd there: That God and the Holy Church had commit- ted the Government of that People to the

The
Bishop of
Chiapa's
Narrative
of the *Spa-
nish* Cruel-
ties, dedi-
cated to
Prince
Philip.

Mexico. King of *Castile*, to the end they might be converted, and their Temporal as well as Spiritual Happiness promoted: That his Majesty therefore might be truly apprized of the State of those Countries since the Conquest, and redress their Grievances, he had selected some few Instances of the Conduct and Behaviour of the great Men who had beg'd those *Conquests* of the Crown; which he had caused to be printed some Years before, and humbly intreated that Prince to use his Interest that none of those Countries or Islands might be granted for the future to any private Persons as their **CONQUESTS**; for that those poor innocent People were daily murder'd and destroy'd, through the Avarice and Ambition of the above-said Adventurers.

He shows
how pop-
ulous
America
was before
the *Spani-*
ards arri-
ved there,
and the
Genius of
that Peo-
ple.

Proceeding in his Narrative, the Bishop observes, that *Hispaniola* and the neighbouring Islands were full of People, as well as the Continent, when the *Spaniards* first discover'd *America*: That, as to the Genius and Temper of the Natives, they had very quick Parts, were capable of learning any thing; and yet were very meek, inoffensive, and hospitable; void of Malice, Covetousness, or Ambition; very obedient to their Superiors; patient and temperate; and as their Food was plain and simple, so they eat and drank sparingly; but that they were of a tender Constitution, not able to endure Labour or Hardships; and if they were transported to distant Countries, did not long survive it.

How
cruelly
used.

Upon these harmless Sheep (in my Author's Phrase) the *Spaniards* fell, like so many ravenous Wolves or Tygers, as soon as they arrived amongst them; and did not cease for forty Years (*viz.* from the Year 1492, when *America*

America was first discover'd, to the Time our Author wrote, *Anno 1532*) to torture, murder and destroy them, by a Variety of strange and unaccountable Cruelties, such as were never heard of before; insomuch, that of three Millions of Souls they found in the Island of *Hispaniola*, there were not, at the Time the Bishop wrote, two hundred Native *Indians* upon that Island; and the neighbouring Island of *Cuba*, equally populous, and almost of equal Extent, was in a manner depopulated: That those of *Porto Rico* and *Jamaica*, fruitful flourishing Islands, and abounding with People, when the *Spaniards* came thither, were become perfect Deserts: The *Bahama* Islands, which contain'd five hundred thousand Souls, had not, when the Bishop wrote, one human Creature left upon them; and the *Antilles*, or *Caribbee* Islands, had most of them been destroy'd in like manner.

Mexico.

The Islands depopulated.

Then he proceeds to give an Account of the Continent; where, he says, it was certain, that the *Spaniards*, by their Cruelties, had depopulated ten Realms larger than *Spain*, and extending as far as from *Seville* to *Jerusalem*, which was a thousand Leagues and upwards, tho' they were before as well peopled as any Countries whatever: That he was able to give a certain and particular Account of twelve Millions of Souls, Men, Women and Children, that, within the said Space of forty Years, had been unjustly and tyrannically put to Death by the *Spaniards*; and, he verily believed, more than fifteen Millions of Souls had perish'd by their Hands within that Time; the Cause whereof, he says, was the insatiable Avarice and Ambition of the *Spaniards*.

On the Continent.

Fifteen Millions destroy'd.

That he himself saw four or five of the *Indian* Princes, or great Lords, broiled at one time

Variety of Tortures.

on

✓ Mexico. on Gridirons, over a slow Fire, and others roasted; many more he saw torn in pieces with Dogs: That they massacred whole Towns, sparing neither Women nor Children; ripped up Women with Child; beat out the Brains of some Infants, and drowned others; and that they would, in Sport, lay Wagers which should kill the poor *Indians* soonest, by cutting off their Heads, or piercing their Breasts: That the Soldiers being about to burn one of the *Indian* Princes, whose Name was *Hatbway*, a Priest was sent to him, to persuade him to turn *Christian* before he died; and the Priest telling him he would go to Heaven, a Place of Happiness, if he embrac'd Christianity; otherwise he must expect eternal Torments in Hell; *Hatbway* demanded, If the *Spaniards* went to Heaven? And being answer'd, Yes; the *Indian* Prince reply'd, *Then let me go to Hell, where there will be no Spaniards.*

The Bishop relates, that marching with some *Spanish* Troops towards a great Town, consisting of three thousand *Indians*, the People came out to meet them, bringing along with them all manner of Provisions and Refreshments for the *Spaniards*, who, notwithstanding, fell upon them, and put all these defenceless People to the Sword, Men, Women and Children; and that without any manner of Cause or Provocation, that he could discover.

That at another Time he saw six thousand Infants destroy'd within the Space of three or four Months, for want of People to look after them, their Fathers and Mothers being sent away to work in the Mines, or to some other laborious Employments, at a great distance from

from them: That it being the usual way for Mexico.
the Officers and Soldiers to divide the Natives
amongst them, he knew an Officer, that, ha-
ving three hundred *Indians* assign'd him for
his Share, killed two hundred and sixty of
them, within three Months, by hard Service in
the Mines; and that they afterwards assign'd
him as many more, of whom he made the like
Havock.

That, in the Year 1514, a *Spanish* Adven-
turer destroy'd all the Country from the River
Darien to the Province of *Nicaragua*, extend-
ing upwards of five hundred Miles; and that
one of his Officers, in one Excursion, mur-
der'd more than twenty thousand People,
some of whom he burnt, others he caused to
be torn in pieces by Dogs, or tortured till
they expired in exquisite Pain.

If the *Spaniards* had Intelligence, that any
Town was rich in Gold, or other Treasure, it
was an ordinary thing to send a Party of Men
to summon them to turn *Christians*, and ac-
knowledge themselves Subjects of *Spain*;
which if they refused, they thought they had
sufficient Authority to plunder the Place, and
massacre the Inhabitants: But many of their
Parties went farther; they would make Procla-
mation, a Mile or two before they came at the
Town they had destin'd to Destruction, *That*
the Inhabitants should immediately come and do
Homage to the King of Spain; which the poor
People knowing nothing of, were attack'd
without any Notice, and put to the Sword.
If these *Spanish* Adventurers could prove that
Proclamation was made, this was held suffi-
cient, whether the People heard any thing of it
or not; and if they spared the Lives of any,
it was only in order to torture them, and com-
pel

Mexico. pel them thereby to discover such Treasure as might be concealed, or to make Slaves of them: And that, in such Expeditions, the Governor of the Province of *Terra-firma* only destroy'd eight hundred thousand Souls between the Years 1514 and 1522. That one of the *Indian* Princes, having given this same Governor the Value of nine thousand Ducats in Gold, was tortured by him till he discovered the Value of three thousand Castilians (Pieces of Eight) more; and not being able or willing to make any farther Discoveries, the Governor caused his Feet to be burnt off by Inches, till the Marrow dropt out of his Bones, and he expired in Torments: And it was a common thing with the *Spanish* Officers to torture the *Indian* Princes and great Lords, to make them discover their Riches, and put them to Death when they did not answer their Expectations.

In the Province of *Nicaragua*, the Bishop relates, the *Spaniards* made Slaves of the People they did not otherwise destroy, and transported great Numbers of them to the Mines of *Peru*, where they all died in a very little time: For, he observes, that when the *Indians* are removed from their native Place, they seldom live long; and that many of them perish'd for want of proper Food, or by being compelled to labour beyond their Strength: And that there had not been less than five hundred thousand Souls destroy'd by these means, in that Province only, within the Space of ten Years, viz. between the Years 1523 and 1533; insomuch, that there were not, at the time of drawing up this Narrative, five thousand of the Natives left alive in the Province.

Then

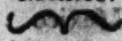
Then the Bishop proceeds to give some Account of the Conduct of the *Spaniards* in *Mexico*, or *New Spain*, where *Hernando Cortez* commanded their Forces in Person, and had the Direction of all Affairs: And here he affirms, that, within the Space of twelve Years, viz. between the Year 1518 and the Year 1530, four Millions of Souls were put to the Sword, besides infinite Numbers that were made Slaves of, and perish'd by Famine and Oppression; there being no Part of *Europe* so populous as *Mexico*, when the *Spaniards* arrived there, according to this Author, who was Bishop of *Chiapa* in *Mexico* during the Administration of *Cortez*.

Descending to Particulars, the Bishop mentions, in the first place, the Massacre of *Cholula*, a City consisting of thirty thousand Houses; where *Cortez*, having summoned the principal Inhabitants and the Lords of the neighbouring Country to attend him with their Vassals, he commanded the inferior People to be cut in pieces by the *Spaniards* and his Confederates the *Tlascalans*, and those of better Quality he burnt alive: Adding, that this was their Practice in every Province they invaded, to execute some such notable Butchery, that the People might tremble at their Approach, and submit to their Tyranny.

That this Captain-Tyrant (as the Bishop calls *Cortez*) sent out two other Tyrants more cruel than himself; the one to the Country of *Guatemala* (viz. *Pedro de Alvarado*) and the other to that of *Honduras*: And that the first, in a Letter to *Cortez*, inform'd him, that he had kill'd, plunder'd, burnt, and destroy'd all the Realm of *Guatemala* for the Space of four hundred Miles; and the other Captain, that

Alvarado's Cruelty in Guatemala.

Mexico.



was sent to reduce the Province of *Honduras* (a Country which the Bishop represents as a Paradise of Pleasure, and then exceeding populous) destroy'd more than two Millions of Souls.

That the first Captain, on his entering the Frontiers of *Guatimala*, being met by some Caciques, or Lords of the Country, with their Vassals, who brought him Provisions, and came to make their Submission; he caused those Caciques to be burnt alive, because they told him they could not produce the Quantity of Gold he demanded; and the rest of the Caciques fled to the mountainous and inaccessible part of the Country, ordering their Subjects to submit to the *Spaniards*, which they accordingly did, without making any Opposition. But this would not satisfy these unmerciful Adventurers, or Conquerors, as they called themselves; they burnt the Houses of these poor People, putting to Death Man, Woman and Child, because they could not, or would not discover what was become of their Lords: Whereupon the rest of the *Indians* stood upon their Defence; and, among other Stratagems, they dug Pits in the Highways, in which they set sharp Stakes, covering them with Turf, in order to prevent their being attack'd by the *Spanish* Horse; and some of the *Spaniards* fell into them, which so enraged this Captain, that he order'd some of the Natives, of all Sexes and Ages, to be thrown into these Pits, and buried alive; the rest were either destroy'd with Fire and Sword, or made Slaves of, many of whom were transported to the Mines, and perish'd there; while others were worn out in carrying Burdens, and such like Drudgeries. The Women met with the best

best Quarter, the *Spaniards* reserving them either for their Lusts or domestic Employments, as well as for the Cultivation of their Lands; this being chiefly the Business of the *Indian* Females: Nor is it to be supposed they destroy'd all the Male Slaves, when they were so useful, and even necessary to them, in building Houses, Ships, carrying Burdens, &c. And, no doubt, many of the inferior People escaped after their former Masters to the Woods and Mountains, whose Posterity are found there to this Day, having hitherto preserved their Freedom, tho' they have lost the best and richest Part of their Country. But how many soever escaped, the Bishop assures us, that this Captain put to Death between four and five Millions of People in the Country of *Guatemala*, within the Space of 15 or 16 Years: And so very little Account did the *Spaniards* make of these unhappy People, the same Author relates, that he had known eight hundred *Indian* Slaves given for one Mare; and that another of these Adventurers, having employ'd eight thousand *Indians* in his Buildings and Gardens, obliged them to serve him without Pay, and gave them so little Food that they fell down under their Burdens and died; at which their hard-hearted Master shew'd no manner of Concern. He knew the same Captain, who was afterwards made President of *Mexico*, employ between fifteen and twenty thousand *Indians* in carrying the *Spaniards* Baggage in an Expedition; and says, all of them perish'd in that Service except two hundred.

800 *Indians* given for a Mare.

The same barbarous Wretch, in the Province of *Mecboacan*, about forty Leagues from *Mexico*, being met by the Cacique or Lord of the Province, who brought him Presents,

Mexico. and offer'd to become subject to the *Spaniards*, put the unhappy Prince to the Torture, burning his Feet off by Inches, to make him discover his Treasure; insomuch, that he expired in most exquisite Torments: And abundance of other Lords were used in like manner, to make them produce the Gold and Silver they imagined them possess'd of.

A Prince
sold for a
Cheese.

He relates, that one of these Adventurers, who was made Governor of *Yucatan* in the Year 1526, finding there was no Gold or Silver in that Province, after he had ravaged the Country, and killed great Numbers of the Natives, sold the rest for Slaves; but set so small a Value on them, that he sold the Son of one of their Princes for an ordinary Cheese, and an hundred Men for an Horse: That the Son of a certain Lord, refusing to leave his Country, and go with a *Spaniard* into Slavery, he cut off his Ears, Nose, and Lips: And so wantonly cruel was another *Spaniard*, that he chop'd a living Infant to pieces, and gave it to his Dogs. But I am weary with relating these Barbarities, as I believe the Reader must be with the Relation of them; and therefore forbear to mention any more of them here; but shall have Occasion to resume the Subject again, when I come to the Conquest of *South America*.

These
Facts well
attested.

These Facts, I must confess, are so shocking, that it cannot be supposed they should easily gain Credit: But if we consider, that they are given us by Father *Bartholomew de Casas*, Bishop of *Chiapa* during the Administration of *Cortez*; that he came over to *Spain* to obtain a Redress of these Grievances of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth; that he met with a very great Opposition from *Cortez* and his Friends,

Friends, and yet that he procured that General Mexico. to be displaced, and obtained an Order that the *Indians* should be no more treated as a conquer'd People, or made Slaves of; that *Cortez* was actually prosecuted for these Outrages, and not suffer'd to return to *Mexico* to his dying Day, notwithstanding the pretended Services he had done, in adding the *Mexican* Empire to the Dominions of *Charles* the fifth; we must believe, that the Charge was in a great measure true; especially when we find some great *Spanish* Ecclesiastics pleading and endeavouring to maintain, before that Emperor, *That it was lawful to massacre and enslave any People who refused, upon their Summons, to turn Christians, and submit to the Pope in Spirituals, and to the Emperor in Temporals.*

Give me Leave to add a Paragraph or two out of the Bishop of *Chiapa's* Apology for the poor *Indians*.

It is not true (says that great Prelate) that the *Indians* did annually sacrifice twenty thousand Persons; or one hundred, or even fifty; but the Tyrants (the Adventurers) have invented such Stories to justify their own Barbarity, and that they might have a pretence still to detain those miserable People in Slavery. But it may very truly be said, *That the Spaniards, since their Arrival in the Indies, have annually sacrificed to their adored Goddesses (Avarice) more People than the Indians sacrificed in an hundred Years.* This the Heavens and Earth witness and bewail: Neither can the Tyrants, the Authors of these Calamities, deny it. For it is evident, that these Countries, when the *Spaniards* first went thither, swarm'd with People; but are now laid waste and depopulated. We might blush for Shame, that, having

Part of the Bishop's Apology for the poor *Indians*.

They did not sacrifice such Numbers as was pretended.

Mexico. ving lost all Fear of God, we seem to think we scarce want a Colour or Excuse for these execrable Actions. We have, in little more than forty Years, depopulated and destroyed more Countries than *Europe* contains: We have not only plunder'd and usurp'd the Dominion of them, but have murder'd twenty Millions of Souls.

Twenty
Millions
destroy'd
in forty
Years.

The *Spaniards*, in attempting the Conquest of the *Indies*, had very little Regard to the Honour of God or Religion: Their Zeal for the Salvation of Mankind was but a Pretence: Nor had they any Views to their Prince's Service, of which they so vainly boasted; but Covetousness drew them thither, and an Ambition to usurp the Dominion of those Countries; for they perpetually solicited the Court of *Spain* to have it divided among them: And, to speak plainly, says the Bishop, their Views are to expell the Kings of *Castile* out of that World, and seize upon it themselves. However, we see Success frequently sanctifies the worst Actions, and gains the Applauses of inconsiderate Men.

Some Remarks on the Reduction of *Mexico*.

Don Velasquez, Governor of *Cuba*, first laid the Design of adding *Mexico* to the *Spanish* Dominion: It was he that first levied Soldiers, provided a Fleet of Ships, with Arms, Ammunition, and Provisions, suitable to such an Undertaking; and gave the Command of the whole to *Hernando Cortez*: But, being apprized of the Ambition and Ingratitude of that Gentleman, before he left the Island, he revoked his Commission, and recalled him, with a Design of sending another Commander in his room. But *Cortez* refused to obey his Orders; and, corrupting the Soldiers and Mariners, persuaded them to turn Rebels and Pirates, to

renounce

renounce the Authority of *Velasquez*. their Governor, who fitted them out, and to set up for themselves; and, at last, to chuse him the Captain of this mutinous Crew, who, by all Laws, Civil and Military, deserved Death, and would probably have been hang'd, with their Leader, if they had not met with unexpected Success. And as the Enterprize was rebelliously undertaken, so was it prosecuted with such Cruelty and ill Conduct as must affect every one with Horror and Detestation of the wicked Instruments that were concerned in it: They found a naked defenceless People, terrified to the last degree with their Fire-Arms, Artillery, Horses, and Dogs: They found the several Kingdoms and States also at Variance, and so equally divided, that either of them were ready to join the Invaders of their Country, and assist them in the Conquest of it: And we find all of them ready to submit to the Dominion of the King of *Spain*, to become subject and tributary to him, before there was (scarce) any Blood spilt. But this would not have done the Business of our piratical Adventurers: Here would have been little or no Spoils or Plunder to have enriched them with; no Slaves to have been made, or Territories conferred on private Men; the *Mexicans* would have been their Fellow-Subjects, and entitled to the like Protection and good Usage as the *Spaniards* themselves were: And therefore they held it necessary to make Enemies of them, to give them all manner of Provocations, and, under pretence of Plots and Conspiracies of the Natives, to massacre them, take their Country from them, and seize on their Lands and Treasures, together with the Gold and Silver Mines, that were looked upon

Mexico. upon then, and have since been found, to be inexhaustible. These were Temptations which that rapacious Crew could not resist; and, it is more than probable, if *Narvaez* had not been sent to reduce *Cortez*, that he had set up for himself, and assumed the sovereign Authority of *Mexico*, as the Bishop of *Chiapa* suggests; and the sole Reason that he did not, probably, was an Apprehension that, if he did not acknowledge the Authority of the King of *Spain*, many of his own Men would have deserted him, as he had deserted his General and Benefactor, and the Advantage of that Conquest would have been taken from him. And, tho' he and his Officers did submit to hold those Countries of the Crown of *Spain*, yet, we find, they procured themselves to be made Proprietors of them, in such a manner as to have the absolute Dominion both of the Country and the People; and that they treated them as their Slaves and Vassals; nay, worse than Enemies, worse than ever brute Animals were used; massacring and torturing them in such a manner as could never have been credited, if their Actions had not been publicly try'd and condemn'd, and the Facts confess'd and acknowledg'd by many of those that were engaged in the Enterprize; and it had not been evident, to all the World, that Countries had been destroyed and depopulated for Thousands of Miles together, which were before crowded with People, and (in the Bishop of *Chiapa's* Phrase, who was upon the Spot) resembled a terrestrial Paradise. And what still aggravates the Cruelty is, that the Natives were, according to the best Accounts, a harmless inoffensive People, treated all Mankind civilly and hospitably, even the *Spaniards* themselves,

themselves, and are generally admitted for their Ingenuity and the Quickness of their Parts; the Popish Missionaries themselves acknowledging, that they never met with a more tractable People; more ready to be instructed, and to embrace the *Christian* Religion; inasmuch, that the Bishop of *Chiapa* observes, there was no manner of Occasion to use Force to bring them over to Christianity: And therefore *Cortez* and his Officers could never justify their barbarous Usage of the *Indians*, on pretence of Obstinacy: Their mighty Zeal for Religion, and the Service of their Prince and Country, was all a Sham: Their Cruelties could be ascribed to nothing else but to their Ambition or Avarice: The Gold and Silver of the Country, the *Indians* themselves observed, were the only Gods their Adventurers adored; for the acquiring of which they seem to have diverted themselves of all Humanity.

It may be objected indeed to the Credit of those Relations given us by the Bishop of *Chiapa*, of the Cruelties of *Cortez*, *Alvarado*, and the rest of the Commanders concerned in the Conquest of *Mexico*. That those Barbarities are scarce mentioned either by *Antonio de Solis*, or *Antonio de Herrera*, two of the best of the *Spanish* Historians.

To which I answer, That it was evidently the Design of *De Solis* to write a Panegyrick upon *Cortez*; and therefore it cannot be expected he should give us the dark Side of that General's Character: Besides, the greatest part of that pretended History appears, on the Face of it, to be a mere Romance; only valuable for the Language, and for some Reflections he makes on the Facts he is pleased to feign, which are judicious enough, admitting

Mexico. there was any Truth in what he relates. And as to *Antonio de Herera*, who was Historiographer to the King of *Spain*, he was employ'd by the Ministry to give such an Account of that Conquest as might reflect Honour on the Kingdom of *Spain*, and on the Administration under which it was effected: And had he related the Barbarities of *Cortez* and his Officers, after he had informed us, that those Adventurers were encouraged and rewarded, instead of being punish'd, he could not have reflected a greater Dishonour on the Kingdom and Court of *Spain*. And, altho' *Herera* himself does not give us all the Particulars the Bishop of *Chiapa* does, yet he confirms some of them; and assures us, *The Bishop is an Author that deserves Credit*. It was not convenient for him to say what the Bishop had said; but, on the other hand, he was so faithful an Historian as to let us know, that *That Prelate ought to be believed*.





CH A P. VIII.

Of the Mexican Animals.



W H E N the *Spaniards* first arrived Mexico. in this new World, they found neither Horses, Oxen, Camels, Affes, Goats, Sheep, Elephants, Hogs, or Dogs, of the *European* Species. There were in-

Animals that were not found in America.

deed wild Beasts, to which they afterwards gave the Name of Hogs, because they came the nearest to our Hogs of any Animals they found there, viz. their *Pecaree* and *Warree*; but these are evidently of another Species, especially the *Pecaree*, which have their Navels always upon their Backs. They had also some little dumb Dogs, with which they beat for Game; but no other kind. The *Indians* were as much afraid of the Mastiffs and great Dogs the *Spaniards* carried over, as of Lions or Tygers; nay more, for their cruel Conquerors hunted this unhappy People in the Woods and Mountains with their Dogs, as they would hunt wild Beasts, and tore Men, Women and Children in pieces. When the Natives fled from their Towns, the *Spaniards* pursued them to the Woods with Packs of Dogs; insomuch, that no Cover could conceal or defend these naked People from their Rage. Nor were their Horses less terrible to the *Indians* than the *European* Dogs, as has been observed under

Mexico.

another Head. The *Mexicans* had no Beasts that served them to carry Burdens, or to draw their Carriages; every thing of this kind was done by their *Tamenes*, or Porters, of both Sexes: For, in many Places, the Women carried the Baggage, especially in their Wars and hunting Expeditions; the Men thinking it sufficient to carry their Arms, and hazard their Lives.

Animals
that were
found
there.

European
Cattle
vastly in-
creased,
and run
wild at
this Day.

Their
manner of
hunting
wild Bulls.

There were great Numbers of Wolves and Bears towards the North, and some Lions and Tygers in the warmer Climates, but not many; and there were some few Elks. But whatever the *Indians* wanted of our Animals, the *Spaniards* soon supply'd them with, particularly Horses, Oxen and Hogs; which increased so prodigiously in a few Years, that every Planter had enough for his Use, and vast Numbers of them were suffer'd to run wild in the Woods, both in the Islands and on the Continent. *Acosta* relates, that in his Time (upwards of an hundred Years ago) the *European* Sheep were so multiplied, that it was an ordinary thing for a *Spanish* Grazier to be possess'd of ten or twenty thousand Sheep.

Dampier relates, that the Horses and black Cattle are increased as much as the Sheep; and has given us a particular Description of the *Spaniards* hunting and hocking (or hamstringing) the wild Bulls and Cows that are found in their Forests. The *Hockler*, as he calls him, is mounted on a good Horse, bred up to the Sport, that knows when to advance or retreat, without giving his Rider any Trouble to manage him. The Hunter carries a Pike-staff, arm'd at the End with a sharp Iron, of the Form of a Crescent, with which he rides after the Game full-speed, and, ha-
ving

ving overtaken it, strikes his Iron just above Mexico the Hock, and hamstring the Beast: Whereupon the Horse wheels off; for the Bull or Cow immediately faces about, and makes at the Huntsman with all its Force; but, finding the Horse too swift for him, turns Tail again: Whereupon the Hockser renews the Charge, if the Hamstring be not quite cut through with the first Stroke: and, having sufficiently lamed one of his Hind-Legs, then ventures to attack the Creature in Front, and strikes one of the Knees of his Fore-Legs with his Hock-sing-Iron: The Beast thereupon falling down, the Huntsman immediately dismounts, strikes a great Butcher's Knife into the Beast's Poll, a little behind the Horns, so dextrously, that he cuts the String of the Neck (in *Dampier's* Phrase) at once; and down falls the Creature's Head: Then the Hockser mounts again, and pursues fresh Game, leaving the Skinners that follow him to take off the Hide, which in all they regard, in some Parts of the *Spanish West-Indies* wild Beef is so plentiful. But 'tis said, the *Spaniards* hunt only the Bulls and old Cows, leaving the young Cattle to breed; whereas the *English* and *French* kill them without Distinction: But the *English* found their Error in *Jamaica*; for when that Island was first taken, the Fields and Woods were well stock'd with Cattle; which being destroy'd by the Soldiers, the Island suffer'd very much for want of them, till Sir *Thomas Lynch*, the Governor, sent for a fresh Supply of Cattle from *Cuba*.

The same Writer observes, that the wild Cattle of *Mexico* are the fattest in the dry Season, viz. in *February*, *March* and *April*, when the *English* Log-wood-Cutters, in the Bay of *Campeachy*, frequently hunt them in Canoes;

for

Mexico. for then they come down to feed among the Rushes in the Mouths of the Rivers and Creeks of the Sea, and are easily shot. When the Beast finds itself so closely pursued in this manner, that he can't escape, he faces about, and runs full tilt at the Boat, striking the Head with that Force, that he drives it back twenty or thirty Paces, and then scampers away again, if he is not killed by their Shot; and their principal Care is to keep the Head of the Boat or Canoe towards the Creature, for if he strikes it on the Side, he oversets it. But to return.

Other
Beasts
they had
in com-
mon with
us.

Besides the Beasts already mention'd, which the *Americans* had in common with us, they had also several kinds of red and fallow Deer, Hares, Rabbits, Foxes, Otters, Wild-Cats, Pole-Cats, Squirrels, Porcupines, Monkeys, Jackalls, &c.

Beasts pe-
culiar to
America.

The Beasts peculiar to *America*, which this Continent did not produce, are, their *Pecaree* and *Warree*, the *Opoffum*, the *Moose*, the *Guano*, the *Flying Squirrel*, the *Sloth*, the *Armadillo*, the *Raccoon*, the *Ounce*. And there are some amphibious Animals, particularly the *Musquash* and the *Beaver*; but, as I remember, the last are to be found in the North-part of our Continent.

The *Peca-
ree*.

The *Pecaree* is a little, black, short-leg'd Animal, that has some Resemblance of a Hog: They herd together in great Drovers; and what is most remarkable is, that the Navel of the Creature grows upon its Back, and, if it be not cut off as soon as the *Pecaree* is kill'd, it immediately corrupts the whole Carcass, which is otherwise very good Food.

The *War-
ree*.

The *Warree* is less than the *Pecaree*, and has its Navel in the usual Place; but in Shape

is much like the former: The Skin is ^{Mexico.} thick, covered with Hair that looks like a coarse Fur. Both the *Pecaree* and *Warree* are wild fierce Creatures, and will engage Man or Beast: The *Indians* hunt them down with their Dogs, and then shoot or kill them with Spears.

The *Opoffum* is a small Beast, about the Size of a Fox, and grey as a Badger; and is remarkable for its false Belly, in which she preserves her young ones when she is pursued. There is a very particular Description of this Animal in the *Philosophical Transactions*, to which I refer the Reader. ^{The Opoffum.}

The *Moose* is said to be something like a red Deer in his Head and Neck: He has Horns also like a Deer, near two Yards wide; but is as big as an Ox, and slow of Foot: His Flesh equal to Beef, and his Hide makes good Buff. These are found chiefly in the North, and not in warm Climates. ^{The Moose.}

The *Guanoe* is shap'd like a Lizard; the Body as big as a Man's Leg, but grows tapering towards the Tail, which is very small: They have four short Feet and Claws; are of various Colours, dark and light brown, of a dark and light green, some of them yellow, and others speckled; and their Flesh very good Food, as well as their Eggs. But I should have ranged these among the amphibious Animals, for they live in the Water as well as upon the Land. ^{The Guanoe.}

The *Flying Squirrel* has a very small Body, and a loose Skin, which he extends like Wings, and is borne up by the Wind; but how far he can fly Travellers don't inform us, probably not many Yards. ^{The Flying Squirrel.}

The

Mexico. The *Sloth* is about the Bigness of a large Spaniel; has a round Head, small Eyes, and very sharp Teeth and Claws. He feeds on the Leaves of Trees, and frequently kills them, not leaving a single Leaf on the Tree he visits; but he is so many Days in getting down one Tree, and climbing another, that tho' he be fat when he comes down, he grows lean before he gets to the Top of another: He is eight or nine Minutes, according to Dampier, in moving one of his Legs three Inches: Nor will Blows make him mend his Pace; he seems insensible of Stripes, and can neither be frightened or provoked; as the same Gentleman tells us he has frequently experienced.

The *Armadillo*.

The *Armadillo* was so called by the *Spaniards*, from its Shell resembling the Scales of Armour; is as big as a sucking Pig, and has a long Body inclosed in a thick Shell, which is jointed under the Belly: This Shell opens, and it puts out its Head and Legs when it walks; but, upon the Apprehension of any Danger, the Creature draws in both its Heads and Legs like a Land Tortoise, and, tho' it be tossed from Place to Place, will not move out again: It has strong Claws, with which it digs Holes in the Ground like a Rabbit. The Flesh is esteemed good Meat.

The *Raccoon*.

The *Raccoons*, according to Dampier, are only a Species of Rats, but four times as large, and burrow in the Earth like Rabbits.

Rabbits different from ours.

They have Rabbits also of a different Species from ours, as large as Hares, and without Tails.

The *Ounce*.

The *Ounce*, or *Tyger-Cat*, seems to be only a small Species of Tygers: They are said to be fiercer than those of a larger Size, and more mischievous; nor are these peculiar to

America.

America. The *East-Indians* inform'd me, that *Mexico.* they have the same sort of small Tygers in *their Country*: But there are a Species of Deer *Deer* without Horns in *Mexico*, which I don't meet *without* with any where else. *Horns.*

As to the *Lama's*, or *Camel-Sheep*, as they *Peruvian* are called, from the Form of their Heads and *Sheep.* Necks resembling a Camel's: These are of a very different Make from our Sheep, used to carry Burdens, and twice as large. But as these were only found in *Peru*, and other Parts of *South America*, I shall treat of these, and several other Beasts peculiar to that Country, when I come to describe that Part of the *Spanish* Dominions.

There are several other Animals also found *Bearers,* in *North America*, particularly *Beavers*, of *&c.* which many surprising Stories are told; and these will be considered, when I come to treat of *New-England* and *Canada*.

As to the *Manatee*, *Dampier*, in his first *Manatee.* Volume, describes it in the following manner: He says, it is about the Bigness of a Horse, and ten or twelve Foot long: That the Mouth of it is like a Cow's; and it has great thick Lips: *The Eyes no bigger than a small Pea,* and the Ears only two small Holes on each Side of the Head: The Neck is short and thick, bigger than the Head: The largest Part of the Creature is its Shoulders: It has two large Fins before; and under each of these Fins the Female has a small Dug: From the Shoulders to the Tail the Animal lessens gradually: The Tail is flat, and about fourteen Inches long; and from the Head to the Tail it is round and smooth, having no Fins but those two already mention'd: The Flesh is white, and extraordinary sweet wholsome Meat. *Dampier* adds,

Mexico.

That they never come on Shore, or into shallower Water than where they can swim : That the Musquito Indians strike them as they swim in the Water with an Harpoon, which the Creature runs away with ; but, a long Line and a Float being fasten'd to the Harpoon, they let it run till the Animal has tired itself, and then draw it to Shore. But Dampier seems to be mistaken in great part of this Relation ; or, rather, he makes the Manatee a very different Creature from the Sea or River-Horse : For he says, in his second Volume, p. 102 of his second Part, That the Mountain Cow (as he there calls this Creature) is shap'd like a Cow in Body, but her Head much bigger, more compact, and round : That she has no Horns ; her Eyes are round, full, and of a prodigious Size : That she has great thick Lips, but not so thick as a Cow's Lips ; and her Ears in proportion to her Head, rather broader than those of the common Cow : That her Neck is thick and short ; her Legs shorter than ordinary : That it has a long Tail, thin of Hairs, and no Bob at the End, and coarse thin Hair all over her Body ; her Hide near two Inches thick ; her Flesh red, and the Fat white : That it is sweet wholesome Meat ; and the Creature weighs five or six hundred Weight : That it was always found in Woods, near some large River ; and feeds on thin long Grass and Moss, which grows on the Banks of Rivers ; but never on good Grass, as other Cows do : That when her Belly is full, she lies down to sleep on the Brink of the River, and at the least Noise slips into the Water, where, sinking down to the Bottom, she walks on the Ground.

These Relations, the Reader must observe, are widely different ; and, as Dampier acknowledges

ledges he never saw any of these Animals, it ^{Mexico.} is evident, he was imposed on in one of these Accounts: I shall give the Reader therefore two other Descriptions of the *River-Horse*, or *Cow*; the one from my Friend Captain *Rogers*, late Governor of the *Babama* Islands; and the other from *Kolben*, which I have already mention'd in the Description of the *Cape of Good Hope*.

The Captain assures us, that the *Hippopotamus*, or *Sea-Horse* (as he calls this Animal) lives as well on the Land as in the Sea and Rivers: That it is shap'd like an Ox, but bigger, weighing fifteen or sixteen hundred Pound: That it is very full-bodied, cover'd with Hair, and of a Mouse Colour; thick, short, sleek, and very beautiful when it first comes out of the Water; the Head flattish on the Top: That it has no Horns; but large Lips, a wide Mouth, and strong Teeth, four of which are longer than the rest, viz. two in the Upper Jaw, one of each Side, and two in the Under Jaw: That the latter are four or five Inches long; the other two shorter: That it has large broad Ears, great goggle Eyes, and is very quick-sighted: It has a thick Neck, strong Legs, but weak Foot-locks; the Hoofs of his Feet are cloven in the middle; his Tail is short and tapering, like a Swine's, without any Bob at the End: The Creature is commonly fat, and very good Meat: It grazes on the Shore, in wet swampy Grounds, near Rivers or Ponds; but retires to the Water, if pursued: When they are in the Water, they sink down to the Bottom, and there walk as on dry Ground: They will run almost as fast as a Man; but, if chased hard, they will turn about, and look very fierce, like a Boar, and fight, if put to it. The

Mexico.

Natives have no Wars with these Creatures, says the Captain; but we have had many Conflicts with them, both on Shore and in the Rivers; and tho' we commonly got the better, by killing some, and routing the rest; yet, in the Water, we durst not attack them, after the following Accident, which had like to have proved fatal to three Men, who went in a small Canoe to kill a single *Sea-Horse*, in a River which had eight or ten Foot Water. The *Horse*, according to his Custom, was marching at the Bottom of the River; and, being espied by these Men, they wounded him with a long Lance, which so enraged the Beast, that he rose up immediately, and, giving a fierce Look, he open'd his Jaws, and bit a great piece out of the Gunnel or Upper Edge of the Canoe, and was like to have over-set it; but presently sunk down again to the Bottom, and the Men made off, for fear he should return. *These the Captain met with on the South-East Coast of Africa.*

Kolben informs us, that there is a Creature called a *Sea-Cow*, at the *Cape of Good Hope*, which always feeds on Grass ashore, and only runs into the Sea for its Security: That the Head of it resembles rather that of a Horse than a Cow: That it is as large as a Rhinoceros, and of the same Colour; but the Legs something shorter: That the Nostrils are very large, out of which it spouts Water, as it rises from the Sea or the Bottom of a River: That the Hoof is not cloven, and the Tail like that of an Elephant, with very little Hair on it; and that it has no Hair at all on the Body, and the Female suckles its Calves as other Cows do, which he had often seen: That the Skin of the Creature is tough, and near an
Inch

Inch thick; so that a Musket-Ball will scarce ^{Mexico.} penetrate it, which is the Reason they usually aim at the Head to break his Skull.

That, on each Under-jaw, the Animal has two large Teeth, the one strait, and the other crooked, about the thickness of a Cow's Horn, and running a Foot and half out of its Mouth; which Teeth weigh each of them about ten Pound, are exceeding white, and never change yellow, as Ivory does; and therefore are more valuable.

That, when this Creature is wounded in a River, or near the Shore, the Natives follow her in Boats by the Blood, and with Hooks and Grapling-irons fish up the Carcase, which, he says, is a good Load for a Waggon: That the Flesh of this Creature is so much admired by the *Dutch* at the *Cape*, that they give twelve or fifteen-pence a Pound for it: That the Leaf and Fat is valued as much as the Lean, melted and used like Butter in Cookery, and some eat it with Bread.

The Ancients describe the *Hippopotamus* of the *Nile* in much the same manner as *Kolben* does the *Sea-Cow* of the *Cape*; And Mr. *Thevenot*, an Author of good Credit, says, when he was in *Egypt*, in the Year 1658, he saw one of these Animals that was killed near the *Nile*: That it was about the Bigness of a Camel, of a tawney Colour; the hinder-part made much like an Ox, and the Head like a Horse: That its Eyes and Ears were small; but it had great open Nostrils, thick large Feet almost round, and four Claws; the Tail like an Elephant, and had not more Hair than there is upon an Elephant: That, in the Lower-jaw, it had four great Teeth half a Foot long; two of them crooked, and as big as the Horns of an Ox; and the other

Mexico. other two strait, but standing out in Length; and that some *Janizaries* shot it as it was grazing on the Land: It received several Shot before it fell, the Bullets hardly piercing the Skin; but one, that happen'd to hit the Jaw, brought it down: And that these Monsters are very rare in the *Nile*, there having been no such Animal seen there for many Years before.

Upon the whole, it seems to me, that the *Sea-Cow* and *River-Horse*, called by the Ancients *Hippopotamus*, are the same Animals; but the *Manatee* is of a different Species: For the first is an amphibious Creature, with four Legs, that feeds on Shore; the other a pure Fish, without Legs: For such is *Dampier's* first Description; and so the rest of the *Buccaneers* describe the *Manatee*, and tell us, their *Musquito Indians* struck them often, and their Ship's Crew lived upon them some time; and therefore they could not easily be mistaken in the Shape of the Creature; neither would they have omitted to tell us, that it had Legs, if it had any. And I am in some doubt, whether the *Hippopotamus*, or *River-Horse*, was ever seen in *America*; but if I find Reason to alter my Opinion, upon farther Enquiry, I shall not fail to acknowledge my Mistake before I conclude the Description of *America*.

Crocodiles,
or *Alliga-*
tors.

As to their *Alligators* (which are certainly a Species of *Crocodiles*) these are so numerous, and have done so much Mischief, both to the Natives and the *Europeans*, that there is no room to doubt of their being bred in *America*. They are amphibious Animals, accusom'd both to Land and Water; shap'd like a Lizard, twenty or thirty Feet in Length: They have four short Feet, or rather Claws, on which they

they crawl; the Head is flat, their Eyes large, and their Back cover'd with broad Scales, resembling Armour, and as impenetrable; and some of them so large, 'tis said, that they have actually swallow'd Men whole; at least, there are such Stories generally believed in the Countries where *Alligators* or *Crocodiles* are found. These Animals seem to move with the greatest Strength and Agility in the Water, and will run a good Pace by Land, but cannot easily turn about; so that a Man turning to the Right or Left easily avoids them: They lie waiting for their Prey therefore by the River Sides, in the Flags and Rushes; and so much resemble the Trunk of an old Tree, that Travellers have been unwarily surpris'd by them on Shore. Tho' they are of that prodigious Bulk, they proceed from an Egg no bigger than a Turkey's, which is hatch'd in the warm Sand, as is generally believed; nor is it to be conceived how it should be hatch'd otherwise. They lay a great Number of Eggs, which are most of them eaten or destroy'd by Fowls, or other Animals, or they would swarm in these hot Countries. As to the *Crocodile's* weeping over a Man he has kill'd; and the little Bird *Trochileus*, that is said to live upon the Meat she picks out of the *Crocodile's* Teeth; or the Rat *Ichneumen*, of whom there is a Tradition that he jumps into the *Crocodile's* Mouth, and eats his Way out again through his Belly; I presume there is no need to caution the Reader to give but little Credit to such Fictions: Tho' it were to be wish'd, that Historians would not so frequently indulge a poetical Vein, which makes it difficult sometimes to distinguish between true and fabulous Relations. But to proceed.

There

Mexico.

The
Squash.

There is an Animal, which *Dampier* calls a *Squash*, bigger than a Cat, and its Head like that of a Fox, with short Ears and a long Nose; the Legs short, and runs up Trees like a Cat; the Body is cover'd with a fine yellow Hair, and the Flesh very good Meat. *Dampier* says, it eats like Pig: That the young ones may be tamed, and are as diverting as a Monkey.

The Mexi-
can Mon-
key.

The Monkeys of *Campeachy*, the same Writer relates, are the ugliest he ever saw: They are much larger than a Hare, and have great Tails two Foot and a half long; the Body and upper Part of the Tail cover'd with coarse long black Hair: They keep together twenty or thirty in a Company, and ramble over the Woods, leaping from Tree to Tree; and if they meet with a single Person, he is in danger of being torn in pieces by them: That he was very much afraid on meeting a Party of them in a Wood, tho' he had a Gun in his Hand; for they surrounded him, chattering and making a terrible Noise; some of them broke the dry Bows and threw at him, while others scatter'd their Water and Dung about his Ears: That they hung themselves by their Tails on the Boughs over his Head, and seem'd to threaten him all the Way he pass'd: But where two or three People are together, they usually make off; and it is merry enough to see the Females scamper away with their young ones under their Arms, or upon their Backs. This Species of Monkeys are very untractable, and hardly ever tamed.

Birds and
Fowls.

As to the feather'd Race, we find in *Mexico* Parrots, Parrokites, Macaws, Quams, Curasoes, Cockrecoes, Bill-Birds, Humming-Birds, Eagles, Vultures, Doves, Pigeons, Subtil Jacks, Black-Birds,

Birds, Turkeys, and tame Poultry; Pelicans, Mexico. Cormorants, Bats, and a multitude of other Fowls and Birds, which are not found in this Part of the World, and many of which have not yet received any Names, or at least the Europeans are not acquainted with them.

Parrots and Parrukites are so well known Parrots. amongst us that they need no Description.

The *Macaw* is not so common: He is *Macaw*, shap'd much like a *Parrot*, but twice as big; the Feathers of the Body are of several bright and lively Colours, particularly red, blue and green: It has a bushy Tail, with two or three long straggling Feathers, red or blue; the Pinions of the Wings of some of them are red, and of others blue; and their Beaks yellow: They make a great Noise in the Morning, resembling a hoarse Voice; but they will imitate the Voices of the *Indians*, and their way of singing; as also the Voice or Noise of any Bird or Animal almost; and may be taught to talk. The Natives tame them, and, when they are used to their Houses, suffer them to fly to the Woods in the Day-time, among those that are wild, and they return in the Evening to the House or Plantation they belong to. There are great Plenty of these Birds in *Mexico*; and they are not only extremely beautiful and entertaining, but their Flesh is well tasted, tho' it is black and pretty tough.

The *Quam* is a wild Land-Fowl, of the Big-*Quam*. ness of a Hen-Turkey, and has a Bill like that Fowl; the Feathers of a Dun Colour; his Tail short, and darker than the rest of his Feathers: It feeds upon Berries and other Fruits, and the Flesh is very good Food.

The *Curasoe* is larger than the *Quam*, but *Curasoe*. much of the same Shape: The Cock has a

Mexico.

Crown of black or yellow Feathers on his Head, with red loose Flesh on his Neck, like a Turkey-cock; but the Hen has neither: They have a big gross Voice, which is listen'd to by the Natives, having something melodious in it: The Flesh is tolerably good, but the Bones so noxious, that the Natives bury them, and will not suffer a Dog to eat them; and the *Europeans*, 'tis said, use the like Caution; for that a Dog runs mad, if he eats one of their Bones.

Carrion-Crow.

The Bird call'd by the *English* the *Carrion-Crow*, is black, and as big as a Raven; has a bald Head and reddish Neck like a Turkey, and lives altogether on Carrion, from whence it has its Name. The Huntsman has no sooner kill'd his Game, but they immediately flock together from all Parts, several hundreds of them, and will devour the Carcase of a Beast in an instant, if not prevented. Some of these *Carrion-Crows* are white, but in all other respects like the former.

Subtil-Jack.

The *Subtil-Jack*, as the *English* call it, is as big as a Pigeon; the Feathers generally black, but the Tips of the Wings yellow. It has obtained this Name from the Cunning it seems to exercise in securing its Nest, which is always hung by a String, at the Extremity of the Bough of some high Tree, that stands alone. Some Trees are surrounded with such Nests, which hang down two or three Foot from the Twigs they are fasten'd to; the String that fastens them, according to *Dampier*, being made of long twisted Grass; but *Gemelli* says it is made of Hair: However, both agree as to the Nests hanging on the Bough of a Tree, by a String of its own making; and *Gemelli* adds, that the Bird sings sweetly,

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There are also several sorts of Birds, to Mexico which the *English* have given the Name of *Bill-Birds*, from their Bills being almost as big as their Bodies.

The *Cockrecoes* are of the Colour of a Partridge, but something less, and their Legs longer: They delight in Creeks and watery Places, and are remarkable for their calling and answering one another Morning and Evening. They are esteemed delicious Food.

The Bird call'd the *Cardinal*, is about the Bigness of a Wood-Lark; of a Scarlet Colour; has a beautiful Tuft of Feathers on the Head, and sings sweetly: For these the *Spaniards* give ten or twelve Crowns a Bird, to send into *Spain*. There is another Bird of the same beautiful Colour, but less, and does not sing.

They have also a small Bird, of the Bigness of a Thrush, call'd the *Tygrelo*, or *Little Tyger*, from its spotted Feathers.

The *Cacalototol* is of the Size of a Black-Bird, but of a yellow Colour, and sings well.

The *Silguero's* are black and white, of the Bigness of a Sparrow, and highly valued.

They have two sorts of *Pheasants*; the one of a dark Colour, with black Wings and Tails, which they call *Gritones*; and the other, which are much larger, call'd *Royal*, from a Tuft which appears like a Crown upon their Heads.

Their Poultry, or Dunghill-Fowls, differ little from ours, but are something less: Their

Quails are of the same Colour as those of *Europe*, but their Flesh is not so good, according to *Gemelli*, who mentions another Bird call'd *Guiachichil*, or *Suck-flower*, because it is always seen flying with a Flower in its Mouth; but

Mexico. is never known to rest on the Ground, as he was inform'd by the Natives: It will stick its Beak into the Bough of a Tree, and remain there several Months; and thus they often take it sleeping.

Humming-Bird.

The *Humming-Bird* is a little feather'd Animal, not much bigger than a large Wasp: It has a black Bill, like the Point of a Needle; and its Legs and Feet are proportionable to its Body: Its Wings move when it flies, like those of a Bee, and make a perpetual humming; from whence it obtained its *English* Name: It resorts to Fruit-Trees and Flowers also, like the Bee when it is gathering Honey; but keeps in perpetual Motion, sometimes on one Side the Flower, and then on the other; now approaching, and then retiring from it, for several Minutes. There are two or three sorts of them, of as many several Colours: The largest are black.

Birds of Prey.

Their Birds of Prey are *Eagles*, *Vultures*, *Hawks*, and the *Carrion-Crow*, already mention'd: Their Water-Fowl, *Geese*, *Ducks*, *Cut-lews*, *Hérons*, *Crab-Catchers*, *Pelicans*, *Cormorants*, *Fishing-Hawks*.

Water-Fowl.

Ducks.

They have three kinds of Ducks; the *Muscovy Duck*, and another, which perch upon old Trees without Leaves, and seldom light upon the Ground; and they have another kind of Ducks, like ours, that never perch upon Trees.

Curlews.

There are two sorts of *Curlews* also; the largest sort as big as Turkeys, with long Legs and long crooked Bills; the Feathers of their Bodies of a dark Colour, and their Wings black and white; their Flesh black, but pretty good Food: The other *Curlews* are half the Bigness

Bigness of the former, and their Flesh much ^{Mexico.} better tasted.

Their *Heron*s are not different from those of ^{Heron.} Europe.

The *Crab-Catcher* is of the same Shape and ^{Crab-Cat-} Colour as the *Heron*, and has its Name from ^{chers.} feeding on small Crabs not bigger than Pigeons Eggs.

The *Pelican* is a web-footed Fowl, almost ^{Pelican.} as big as a Goose, and of a grey Colour: Its Legs are short, the Neck long, the Bill seventeen or eighteen Inches long, and two Inches broad; the Fore-part of the Neck and Breast cover'd with a soft loose Skin, like that of a Turkey-cock's: It is a very heavy Fowl, and seldom flies much above the Water; and usually sits on the Tops of the Rocks, a little distance from the Shore, either for its Security, or to look out for Prey; and is esteem'd pretty good Meat. It is remarkable for a Bag or Purse in the Neck, in which it keeps a Reserve of Prey after the Appetite is satisfied.

The *Cormorant* is of the Shape and Size of ^{Cormor-} a Duck, and the Bill and Feet like a Duck's; ^{rant.} the Feathers on the Body black, only white on the Breast: They live on small Fish, and will perch on Trees by the Water-side to watch for their Game.

The *Fishing-Hawk* is of the Size and Shape ^{Fishing-} of an *English Sparrow-Hawk*, and sits on the ^{Hawk.} Stump of a Tree or a Rock by the Sea or River-side, from whence he flies at the small Fish, which are his Prey, and snatches them out of the Water without wetting his Wings: He does not swallow the Fish whole, as most other Fowls do that prey upon Fish, but tears it in pieces, as our Hawks do the Birds they strike.

The

Mexico.

Bats.

The *Bats* of this Country are as large as *Pigeons*, Travellers inform us, which is not at all improbable; for in the *East-Indies*, and some other hot Countries, they are much larger.

Insects
and Ver-
min.

In all hot Countries there are abundance of poisonous and troublesome Insects and Vermin, and *Mexico* has its Share of them; such as, *Snakes*, *Scorpions*, *Centapees*, *Spiders*, *Toads*, *Flies*, *Musketoos*, and *Pismires*.

Snakes.

There is in *Mexico*, as Mr. *Dampier* relates, a yellow *Snake*, as big as the Small of a Man's Leg, six or seven Foot long; a lazy Animal, that takes little Pains to hunt for its Prey; but lies concealed in Cover, and surprizes the *Lizards*, *Guanoes*, and other small Animals, as they pass by: The Flesh of it is eaten by some People; and my Author says, he has tasted of it, but did not much relish it. He says, his Brother *Logwood-Cutters* inform'd him, that some of these Snakes are as big as an ordinary Man's Waist, and strong enough to hold a *Bullock* by the Horns: But he is so good as not to require us to give entire Credit to the latter part of the Story. There is also a green Snake, about the Bigness of a small Cane, and four or five Foot in Length: These lie among Bushes and Trees full of Leaves, and prey chiefly on small Birds. Here is also a dun-colour'd Snake, about two Foot long, that frequents Houses, and kills Mice and other Vermin; and is so harmless a Creature, that no body endeavours to kill him. There are a great many other Species of Snakes in *America*, and particularly the *Rattle-Snake*, which will be described in their proper Places.

Scorpions.

Their *Scorpions* and *Centapees* do not differ from those of other Countries already described; but Mr. *Dampier* mentions an Animal, which he

he calls a *Gally-Wasp*, that I don't remember Mexico. to have met with any-where else: It has, he *Gally-Wasp.* says, some Resemblance of a Lizard; has four short Legs, and is of a dark brown Colour; delights in low marshy Grounds, and is very venomous.

Their *Spiders*, the same Writer observes, are *Spiders monstrous* of a monstrous Size, particularly one, that is near as big as a Man's Fist; has long Legs, and two black Teeth, or Horns, two Inches in Length, and as sharp as a Thorn: That these Spiders are cloathed with a yellowish Down as soft as Velvet: But he could not tell whether they were venomous or not. There is no doubt, but Spiders, Toads and Rats grow to a prodigious Size in all hot Countries; tho', 'tis possible, Travellers may enlarge a little in the describing of them.

The *Ants*, or *Pismires*, are another Plague *Ants.* in every warm Climate. Here are great black Ants, whose Bite is said to be almost as painful as the Sting of a Scorpion; nor are their small yellow Ants less dreaded, which come in such Swarms sometimes, that a Man shall be cover'd with them in an instant: They have Nests on the Bodies of great Trees, *Dampier* relates, as big as Hogsheds, in which they live all the Winter; and here they preserve their Eggs: In the fair Season they quit their Nests, and swarm in the Wood-Lands and high Grounds; but are seldom found in Meadows or watery Places. There are another sort of black Ants, with long Legs, that come into Houses, run over their Chests and Beds, and search every Place: Wherever their Leader marches, the rest follow him in such Crowds, that they are two or three Hours passing by: However, they usually quit the House.

Mexico. House before Night; nor do they seem to be so mischievous as the *African* Ants, that will, according to some Travellers, devour a Sheep in a few Minutes; and Men with difficulty escape, by setting Fire to them.

Muskitoes. There are another sort of Insects, that sufficiently try the Patience of the Natives, and are much more mischievous to Strangers, in hot Countries, viz. *Muskitoes*, or *Gnats*, which swarm in all Countries that are hot and moist, and will not suffer a Man to rest Night or Day, but are perpetually buzzing about his Ears: When a Person first comes on Shore, his Face shall be so swell'd by their Stings in a Night's Time, that his Acquaintance can scarce know him; and, tho' their Stings have not this Effect, after we have been some time in the Country, yet they are always very troublesome.

Another
trouble-
some In-
sect called
Migua.

Gage, in his Survey of this Country, says, there is an Insect, called by the *Spaniards* *Migua*, which is common in all Parts of it almost, and so small, that it can scarce be discerned. This Creature usually strikes into the Feet or Legs of a Man, but seldom into the Hands, or any part of the Body; from whence he conjectures, it is bred in the Dust of the Ground: They make the Part they strike into burn and itch, and at first it appears black, and no bigger than the Point of a Needle, when they may be easily pick'd out; but if they are let alone, they get farther into the Flesh, and lay a great many Nits or Eggs, which increase to the Bigness of a great Pea, and itch intolerably; and, if the Part be rubb'd or scratch'd, immediately festers, and endangers the losing of the Limb. Some, he says, hold it best to take them out as soon as they first perceive

perceive the Part itch; but People do not know at first what is the matter with them, and the Creature soon gets too deep to be dislodged; and therefore they are usually let alone till they have laid their little Bag of Nits or Eggs, which appears like a Blister through the Skin, and then, with the Point of a Needle, they dig round it, and take the Bag out whole, for if it be broken they breed again. If any Person would avoid this Vermin, the same Writer says, he must not go bare-legg'd, or lay his Shoes or Stockings near the Ground. The *Indians*, however, that go bare-foot, are seldom troubled with them, which he supposes proceeds from the hardness of their Skins. The *Europeans* therefore suffer most from these Insects. *Gage* himself relates, that he was two Months under the Surgeon's Hands, having scratch'd the Part where one of these Vermin enter'd his Skin till it fester'd, and was in great Hazard of losing a Leg: And some Gentlemen, lately arrived from *America*, inform me, that there cannot be a more troublesome Insect than this is, against which scarce any thing can secure them.

Dampier also mentions *Leg-worms*, that he met with in the Bay of *Campeachy*: He says, he perceived a Swelling in one of his Legs, that was very painful to him; and, drawing it to a Head, there came out two small Worms, of the Bigness of a Hen's Quill, and three Quarters of an Inch long; and that each of them had three Rows of black, short, stiff Hair, running quite round them.

The *Shining-fly* is an Insect common to the *East* and *West-Indies*: These, in the Night-time, appear like so many Stars, at a little distance,

Mexico. distance, when they rest on the Boughs of a high Tree, as they frequently do.

Bees. As to *Bees*, they have several sorts, which make their Nests in Trees, or in the Holes of the Rocks; from whence the Natives get a great deal of Honey, with which they make some of their strongest Liquors. *Waser* doubts, whether some of these Bees have Stings, because he saw the *Indians* put their naked Arms into the Nests without being stung.

Cochineel
Insect.

The Insect, call'd *Cochineel*, is still more profitable to the *Mexicans* and *Spaniards* than the *Bee*: It is bred in a Fruit that grows on a Shrub about five Foot high, and full of Thorns: There is a red Flower on the Top of the Fruit, which falls down, and covers the Fruit when it is ripe and begins to open; so that no Rain or Dew can wet the Inside: The Flower being scorch'd and wither'd away in a Day or two, by the Heat of the Sun, the Fruit opens as wide as the Mouth of a Pint Pot, and the Inside is, by that Time, full of these small red Insects, which have curious thin Wings. When the *Indians* perceive the Fruit opens, they spread Sheets under the Trees, and shake them; whereupon these Insects take Wing, and hover for a little while over the Tree, and then fall down dead into the Sheets, the Heat of the Sun killing them, as my Author supposes. When they fly up, they appear red; but when they fall down, they are black. However, they are used in dying the finest Scarlet: Some People infuse them in Coffee and other Liquors, to raise their Spirits, or give them fresh Vigour; and they are probably used in Medicine; but Physic is not my Province.

The *Mexicans* did not know the Value of this Insect till the *Spaniards* came amongst them,

them, and had none of the Trees that produce *Mexico*. them, but those that grew wild in Forests; but the *Spaniards* and *Indians* have now large Plantations of them.

The *Locust* is an Insect that brings Destruction with it wherever it comes, and is found in almost every hot Country at one time or other: They are much like Grasshoppers, but bigger; and fly in such Numbers, as Mr. *Gage* observes, that they hide the Face of the Sun, and darken the brightest Day. While he was in *Mexico*, a Cloud of these Insects visited that Part of the Country where he resided, lighting upon the Trees and standing Corn, and, in one Night, devoured both the Fruit and Leaves of the Trees, and consumed the Corn in every Field where they fell: The Highways were so pester'd with them, that there was no travelling in quiet; and neither the Plantations of Sugar or Indigo escaped them.

Upon the Approach of this wing'd Army, all People were commanded out into the Fields, with Trumpets, Brass Pans and Kettles, and every thing that would make a Noise, to frighten them away; and, according to Mr. *Gage's* Observation, the Fields of those Husbandmen that made most Noise escaped best: He was of Opinion, that some entirely saved their Corn and Fruits by this Stratagem. However, such Numbers were left upon the Ground, that they were forced to dig Trenches, and bury them; and the next Year the People were afflicted with a contagious Distemper, little inferior to the Plague; he calls it a Fever in the Bowels, which carried off the Patient in four or five Days: But, notwithstanding this Distemper was very fatal to the *Indians*, the *Spaniards* were not much afflicted with

Mexico. it; and, indeed, at *Surat* in the *East-Indies*, when the Natives are swept away by the Plague in vast Numbers, the *Europeans* usually escape; which we were apt to ascribe to the good Liquor we drink, the Natives having scarce any other Beveridge than Water. But this cannot be the Reason of escaping any contagious Distemper in *America*, where the People drink almost as much strong Liquor as we do.

Fish. I proceed, in the next place, to enumerate the several sorts of Fish that Travellers take notice are found in the *American Seas, Lakes and Rivers.*

Paracood. The *Paracood* is about three Foot and a half long, and eight or ten Inches round, and haunts the Lakes, Islands, and Places near the Shore; and, 'tis said, will attack a Man in the Water. It is a firm well-tasted Fish; but some of them have been found unwholesome Food. *Dampier* says, he has known Men poison'd with them at some Seasons of the Year; and *Waser* relates, that People have had their Hair, and Nails come off after eating them.

Gar-fish. The *Gar-fish* is of the Shape of the former, but less; and has a long sharp Bone in his Snout, like the *Sword-fish*; only as the *Sword-fish's* Bone is flat, and indented like a Saw, this of the *Gar-fish* is fashion'd like a Spear, round, smooth and sharp at the End, and about a Foot long: They swim very swift, and will leap out of the Water frequently, flying as it were just above the Surface for twenty or thirty Yards, and then, wetting their Fins, spring forward again, darting themselves with such Force, that they will strike their bony Spear through the Sides of a Canoe, or the Body of a Man, if they meet with him in the Water.

Water: These are esteem'd well-tasted whole-Mexico:
some Food.

*Mullet*s and *Snooks* are plentiful in this Part *Mullet*,
of the World; and the *Ten-pounder*, in Form *Snook, Ten-*
much like a *Mullet*, but so full of Bones there *pounder*.
is scarce any eating them, is found here.

The *Spanish Mackerel* are in Shape and *Spanish*
Colour like those of *Europe*, but a Yard *Mackerel*.
long and more, and nine or ten Inches about.
These are esteem'd excellent Meat.

There are three sorts of Flat-fish, call'd the *Raspray*.
Stingray, the *Raspray*, and the *Whipray*:
They are any of them about a Foot and a half
broad; and the *Raspray* is mightily valued for
his rough Skin, which makes good Shagreen,
and will rasp any thing like a File.

The *Old Wife* also is a flat Fish, and very *Old Wife*.
good Meat; as is the *Cavally*, a small slender *Cavally*.
Fish, taken upon this Coast.

The *Turpoin* is a good firm Fish, of fifty *Turpoin*.
or sixty Pound Weight, and said to resemble
a Salmon.

The *Sculpin* is a Fish surrounded with little *Sculpin*.
sharp Bones; but, when his Skin is stripp'd off,
he is very good Food; It is generally about a
Foot long.

The *Manatee* is the best Fish on the Coast, *Manatee*.
which has been already described among the
amphibious Animals: I shall only take the Op-
portunity here to acquaint the Reader, that
this is certainly a Fish, and never goes on
Shore, as the *Hippopotamus*, or *River-Horse*,
does; neither does he resemble that Animal,
either in Size or Form. The *Manatee* is ge-
nerally taken in the Sea, and sometimes in
Creeks and the Mouths of Rivers; but never
quits the Water, according to the best Infor-
mation I can get.

Mexico. Of *Tortoise*, or *Turtle*, as the Seamen call them, there are several sorts: Some are *Sea-Tortoise*, and have Fins; these seldom come on Shore, but to lay: Others live, for the most part, on the Land; have Claws, and will run a good Pace. Some weigh upwards of three hundred Pound, and others not five. *Dampier* gives a very particular Description of the several sorts of *American Tortoises*: He says, the Land-Tortoises they met with at the Islands of *Gallapagos* in the *South-Sea* were very large and fat, and no Pullet was better eating; and that some of the biggest of them weigh'd an hundred and fifty, and two hundred Weight, being two Foot six Inches broad on the *Callapee*, or flat Shell, that incloses the Belly: That there is such Plenty of these Tortoises at those Islands, that a Ship's Crew of five or six hundred Men might subsist on them for several Months, without any other Provisions. Then he proceeds to describe the several sorts of Tortoises; one of which is called by the *Spaniards* the *Hecatee*, that lives for the most part in fresh Water, and seldom comes to Land: These weigh ten or fifteen Pound, have small Legs, flat Feet, and slender long Necks. A second sort are called *Tenapen*, which are much less, scarce half so big as the former; the Convex-shell on their Backs naturally finely carved and elouded: These live in Bogs or watery Plashes, or on the firm Land near such Places. Both these are very good Meat.

Sea-Tortoise. As for the *Sea-Tortoise*, or *Turtle*, he observed there were four sorts, viz. the *Trunk-Turtle*, the *Loggerhead*, the *Hawks-bill*, and the *Green Turtle*. The *Trunk-Turtle* is the largest, the Shell on their Backs higher and rounder than the rest, and their Flesh rank and unwhole.

unwholesome. The *Loggerhead* is so called ^{Mexico.} on account of his great Head, which is much bigger than that of any other Turtle: The ^{Logger-head.} Flesh of these also is rank, and never eaten, but in Cases of Necessity. The *Hawks-bill* is ^{Hawks-bill.} the least, and so denominated from his Mouth resembling that of a Hawk's Bill: These are but indifferent Food, tho' better than the *Loggerhead*; and it is the Shell of these that is so much esteem'd for making Boxes, Cabinets, Combs, and other Toys. The *Green Turtle* ^{Green Tortoise.} is so called from the Greenness of its Shell: It is very thin, transparent, and better clouded than the *Hawks-bill*; but only used in inlaying Work, the Shell is so very thin: Their Flesh is the sweetest of all Turtle; the Fat yellow, and the Lean white; and in some Places they are so large, that they weigh two hundred Pound, and upwards; but in the Bay of *Campeachy* they are not so big, and the Fat is green, the Lean of a brownish Colour. The Turtle that haunt the Keys, or small Islands, South of *Cuba*, are of various kinds; some bigger, others less; the Flesh of some green, of others dark brown, and a third yellowish: And with these the *English* at *Jamaica* usually are supplied; the Markets are every Day plentifully stock'd with them, and they are the usual Food of the common People. The *Green Turtle* live on Grass that grows at the Bottom of the Sea in four or five Fathom Water.

Every Species of Turtle, according to *Dampier*, lay their Eggs in the Sand, and lay three times in the Season, at every time fourscore or an hundred Eggs, about the Bigness of a Hen's Egg, but round, and cover'd only with a white tough Skin or Membrane. In the Bay of *Honduras* are several Islands where the *Hawks-*

Mexico.

Hawks-bill Turtle lay their Eggs; and there are some sandy Bays on the Continent near *Vera Cruz*, in the Gulf of Mexico, where they breed. When a She-Tortoise comes out of the Sea to lay, she is an Hour, at least, before she returns again; for she always goes above high Water-Mark; and if it be low Water when she comes ashore, she must rest once or twice (being very heavy) before she comes to the Place; and, having found a Spot to her Mind, she makes a great Hole with her Fins in the Sand, where she lays her Eggs, and then covers them up two Foot deep, and returns to Sea, leaving the Sun and the warm Sand to hatch them. Those that make it their Business to catch Tortoise, wait for them when they come on Shore to lay, and, turning them on their Backs with Poles, the Creature can never get up again. It is very easy to intercept them, they march so slow, and two Men will turn a great many in one Night; but some of them, 'tis said, are too big and heavy for a single Man to turn: They are frequently struck by the Seamen with a Spear or Fisgig, which the Sportsman darts at them from the Yard-Arm, striking through the Shell; and, a Line being fasten'd to the Staff, he draws them up into the Ship.

Mr. *Dampier* remarks, that the Tortoises, at the time of their breeding, leave their usual Haunts for two or three Months, and resort to other Places, sometimes above an hundred Leagues distant, to lay their Eggs; and he is of Opinion, that they eat nothing during this Season. He observes also, that the Male always accompanies the Female when she goes to lay, and never leaves her till she returns: That they are both very fat at the beginning
of

of the Season; but before they return the Male is so lean, that he is not eatable; but the Flesh of the Female is good to the very last, tho' it is not so fat as at the beginning: They are nine or ten Days, 'tis said, in the Act of Generation in the Water, the Male on the Female's Back; nor is the Male to be frighten'd or drove away at these Times; she indeed endeavours to get away, if a Boat approaches when they rise to blow or take Breath; but the Male grasps her with his two Fore-Fins, and holds her fast; and a very bad Striker may strike them both at such Times. It seems, a Sea-Tortoise cannot remain in the Deep, without coming up to the Surface of the Water to blow or take Breath once within eight or ten Minutes. Those that are not good Meat, afford however a great deal of Oil.

These Animals live to a very great Age, at least we are sure the Land-Tortoises do so; for Archbishop *Laud* put one into his Garden at *Lambeth* an hundred Years ago, which I saw there very lately. This Creature makes a Hole in the Ground, about *Michaelmas*, every Year, where it lies all the Winter, and appears again about *Easter*; and is supposed to eat nothing while under Ground, some of the *Lambeth* Family having had the Curiosity to weigh him a little before he disappears, and when he comes up again, and they find him some Pounds lighter in the Spring than he was the preceding Autumn. The same Archbishop put another Tortoise in his *Fulham* Gardens, I am inform'd, which is still alive; but this I have not seen.

I don't find they want any Shell-fish in the *American* Seas, that we have here; and they have *Oysters* and *Muscles* of a prodigious Size.

Mexico. *Funnel* mentions some *Rock Oysters* he met with, so large, that one of them would dine several Men: But the most valuable Oyster is the *Pearl Oyster*, found in the Gulph of *Nicoya*, the Gulph of *California*, and in several other Parts of the *Mexican Coast*. These are about the Size of our middling Oysters, but flatter and thinner; the Pearl is found at the Head of the Oyster, between the Meat and the Shell, and some will have twenty or thirty small Seed-Pearls about them, and others none at all: The Shell of the Oyster is more beautiful on the Inside than the Pearl itself: The Flesh, however, is less valuable than that of any other Oyster, and scarce eatable. The *Indians* dive for these Oysters in five, six, seven, or eight Fathom Water, and bring up ten or twelve Oysters at a time; and those on board the Vessel open them as they are brought up. The *Spaniards*, 'tis said, destroy'd a great many Thousands of the *Indians* soon after the Conquest, by compelling them to dive and drudge for Oysters beyond their Strength: A Pearl was more valued by them than a hundred of these poor Wretches Lives: They had no Mercy on them therefore, but kept them in the Water frequently till they lost the Use of their Limbs, or died in the Service. And thus it was that the Natives of the *Bahama* Islands in particular, who were esteem'd excellent Divers, were destroy'd.

Conch.

The *Conch* is another large Shell-fish, form'd like a Snail: The Colour of the Shell within is like Mother of Pearl; but the Outside of it rough: The Flesh of it is very good eating, after it has been well scoured with Sand.

As to the *Lobsters*, *Crabs*, *Prawns*, *Shrimps*, and other Shell-fish, they have in common with

with us: These need no Description. They have, in their Lakes and Rivers, Fish like our *Jacks* and *Carp*, and plenty of others, that are excellent Food, that will be described, in treating of other Parts of *America*. I shall proceed, in the next place, to enquire into their Vegetables.

Of the Mexican Vegetables, viz. their Potatoes, and Pumpkins, Cucumbers, and other Roots, and Herbs; and also of their

THE first of the Mexican Vegetables, viz. the Potatoe, is a native of the Country, and is found in great plenty in the Mountains, and in the low Countries, and is much used by the People.



with little or no Culture, and is much used by the People. The second is the Pumpkin, which is also a native of the Country, and is found in great plenty in the Mountains, and in the low Countries, and is much used by the People.

The third is the Cucumbers, which are also a native of the Country, and are found in great plenty in the Mountains, and in the low Countries, and are much used by the People. The fourth is the Potatoes, which are also a native of the Country, and are found in great plenty in the Mountains, and in the low Countries, and are much used by the People.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE MEXICAN VEGETABLES, viz. their Potatoes, and Pumpkins, Cucumbers, and other Roots, and Herbs; and also of their



C H A P. IX.

Of the Mexican Vegetables, viz. their Forest and Fruit-Trees, Corn, Herbage, Roots, and Flowers; and also of their Husbandry.

Mexico.
 Vegetables.



THE Woods on the Tops and Sides of the Mountains, and in the Upland Country, are either fine Forests, or delightful Groves of Trees, of various kinds, large and tall, with little or no Underwood; so that a Man rides through them with Pleasure: Whereas on the drown'd Lands, near the Coasts, and at the Mouths of Rivers, there is nothing but *Mangroves, Bamboe-Canes, Logwood, and Shrubs*, with Bushes and Brambles, through which it is difficult to penetrate. There is not much Timber in the low Lands.

The Cotton-Tree.

The *Cotton-Tree*, for its Size and its Use, is one of the most remarkable in this Country: Of these there are two sorts, the white and the red: The white *Cotton-Tree* grows like the Oak, but is much larger and taller; the Body is streight, and clear from Knots or Boughs to the Head, where it spreads out its great Limbs horizontally like the Oak. The Bodies of these Trees are some of them three or fourscore Foot high, and ten or twelve in Diameter; the Bark is grey and smooth; the Leaves are like those of the Plum-tree, oval and indented

on

on the Edges, and of a dark Green; the Mexico.
 Leaves fall off the beginning of *April*, but,
 the young ones sprouting out at the same time,
 it is always green: It bears a Pod as big as a
 small Wallnut, which bursts when it is ripe, and
 then the Cotton falls, or is blown away. This
 sort of Cotton is of little Use, unless to stuff
 Quilts or Pillows; the Cotton that is spun and
 wove into Cloth, grows upon a Shrub. The
 red *Cotton-Tree* is not so large as the white,
 and bears no Cotton. The Wood of both is
 very soft, spongy, and light, and easily
 wrought; but the red is the hardest. Of the
 white the *Indians* make their Canoes and Pe-
 riaguoës, which differ only in their Dimensions;
 the Canoe being small, and holding but two
 or three Men, and the Periaguoë three or four-
 score Men: However, the largest are made
 out of the Body of one single Cotton-Tree.
 These the *Indians* used to burn hollow, or form
 with their Flint Hatchets, till the *Europeans*
 taught them the Use of Iron. The *Indians*
 also use this Wood in erecting their slight
 Huts; but it is by no means fit for more sub-
 stantial Buildings, being softer than our Wil-
 low; nor will it last long converted into Boats
 or Canoes, unless it be frequently pitch'd and
 tarr'd, and great Care taken of it. The Rea-
 son they make use of this Wood for Canoes,
 is because the Body of the Tree is so large, the
 Wood light, and easily wrought. *Dampier*
 calls it a Weed; but observes, it is the largest
 Plant that grows in *America*.

Their *Cedar-Trees* are exceeding tall and *Cedar-Trees.*
 large, and used chiefly in building; the Wood
 is very red, of a fine Grain and fragrant
 Smell; and this Timber is so plentiful in
Mexico, that whole Towns are built with it.

This

Mexico.

This Wood also makes the best and most durable Canoes, tho' not so large as the *Cotton-Tree*: But it is a Mistake, *Dampier* observes, that the Worm will not take it; for he had seen several Canoes, made of it, that were Worm-eaten. There are some white *Cedars*, that differ from the former only in their Colour. Of *Oaks* and *Fir-Trees* also there is great Plenty in *Mexico*: So that they want no manner of Timber, either for building Houses or Ships.

Logwood.

They have several kinds of Wood proper for Dying, particularly *Logwood*, which grows chiefly in the Bays of *Honduras* and *Campeachy*, on the overflow'd Grounds, among the *Mangroves*. *Dampier*, who was a Logwood-cutter, says, it is much like our *White Thorn*, but a great deal bigger: That the Rind of the young Branches is white and smooth, and set with Thorns; so that it may be easily mistaken for *White Thorn*: But the Body and old Branches are blackish, and the Rind rough, and the Leaves resemble those of the *White Thorn*: That they chuse to cut the old black Rind-Trees, which have but little Sap; for the Sap and Outside is white: The Heart, which is red, is only used in Dying; and therefore they chop off the white Sap till they come to the Heart; and, after it has lain a little while, it turns black, and will tinge the Water it lies in like Ink. Some Trees are five or six Foot in Circumference; and these they cut out into Logs fit for a Man's Burden, for they carry them on their Shoulders to the Boats; and it is a very ponderous Wood.

Blood-wood.

There is another kind of Wood mention'd by *Dampier*, which he calls *Blood-wood*, used in dying Reds; He says, it is more valuable than

than *Logwood*, and grows in the Gulph of *Ni Mexico.*
caragua.

There are three sorts of *Mangrove-Trees*, *Mangrove*
according to *Dampier*, black, red and white. *Trees.*
The black is the largest, growing sometimes
to the bigness of a moderate Oak, and about
twenty Foot high. It is very hard serviceable
Timber, but extraordinary weighty. The red
Mangrove grows usually by the Sea-side, or
by Rivers and Creeks, and from several Roots
of the bigness of a Man's Leg, which, about
six or eight Foot above the Ground, join in
one body, that seems to be supported by so
many artificial Stakes. Where this sort of
Tree grows, it is extremely difficult to march:
For these Roots or Stakes, are so interwoven,
that the Traveller is often forced to cut his
Way through. And *Dampier* says, he has
gone half a Mile, stepping from one Root to
another, without setting his Foot upon the
Ground. The Inside of the Bark is red, and
used in Tanning Leather; and some have con-
jectured, that this is the same with the *Jesuits*,
or *Peruvian Bark*: But of this I shall enquire
farther, when I treat of *Peru*. The white
Mangrove is the least of the three, and of no
great Service: And neither the black or white
Mangrove proceed from such Stakes as the red
does, but grow from their Roots like other
Trees. It is the red *Mangrove* that over-runs
the flat Country near the Sea, and grows in
Water most part of the Year; and from this
Tree it is, that those Bogs and Morasses are
usually called *Mangrove-Land*, in our Books
of Travels.

There is another Tree, if it may be called *Bamboo.*
such, that grows on the same kind of Land,
and usually amongst the *Mangrove-Trees*, and
that

Mexico that is the *Bamboo*, a large knotted hollow Cane, that grows to the Thickness of a Man's Leg, and sometimes as big as his Middle. These *Bamboes* serve for Measures; and they convert them into Vessels to hold their Liquors, when saw'd off at the Joint; and put them to several other Uses.

Maho-Tree The *Maho-Tree*, is of the Bigness of an Ash. The Bark looks ragged like tatter'd Canvas; and it will strip off in Strings from the Top to the Bottom: Of this they make Ropes, and even Cables. Having stripped off the Bark in great Flakes, they then divide them into smaller Strings, which they beat as we do Hemp, and afterwards twist into Ropes: Of these Strings they also make Fishing-nets.

Lightwood The *Lightwood-Tree*, so called from the Lightness of the Wood, is of the Size of an Elm, streight and well-bodied, and somewhat resembles Cork: It is so exceeding light in the Water, that three or four Blocks of it, of the Thickness of a Man's Thigh, and four Foot long, will make a Rafter on which three Men may go out to Sea; and the *Indians* sometimes make large Rafters of it to carry their Goods along the Coast; which on the Coast of the *South Sea* are called *Bark Logs*.

White-wood. There is another Tree, which has obtained the Name of *Whitewood*, from its exceeding Whiteness. The Body of it is about as thick as a large Nine-pin, and eighteen or twenty Foot high. The Wood hard, close, and ponderous, and of a very fine Grain, and esteem'd fit for Inlaying and Cabinet-work. The rest of their Forest-Trees will be described in treating of other Parts of *America*.

Fruit-Trees and Fruits. I proceed, in the next place, to the Description of their Fruit-Trees and Fruits, among which

which I range the *Cabbage*. This is a tall slender Tree, frequently ninety or an hundred Foot in Height. *Dampier* says, he measured one after it was cut down, in the Bay of *Campeachy*, that was an hundred and twenty Foot long; and there are some much longer. There are no Boughs on it, but at the Head; and there the Branches are of the Bigness of a Man's Arm, and twelve or fourteen Foot long. About two Foot from the Trunk, these Branches shoot out long narrow Leaves, about an Inch broad, which grow so regularly on each Side, that the whole Branch seems but one Leaf. The Fruit is found at the Top of the Tree, amidst the Branches. It is about a Foot long, and six Inches round; of the Form of an ordinary Cabbage, and surrounded with young Leaves. According to *Dampier's* Description, it is as white as Milk, and as sweet as a Nut, if eaten raw; and is very good boil'd. There hangs down also from the Top of the Tree great Bunches of red Berries, of about six Pound Weight, like Bunches of Grapes; but these are only Food for their Hogs, not being at all palatable. The Body of the Tree is mark'd with Rings or Streaks, from the Top to the Bottom, at half a Foot distance the one from the other. The Bark is thin and brittle, the Wood black and hard, and the Heart or middle of the Tree is a white Pith. They usually cut down the Tree for the Cabbage; for the gathering the Fruit kills it, if they let it stand; and the climbing this lofty Plant is as much Trouble as the felling of it. The Wood is used, in some Places, for boarding the Sides of their Houses; the Body being easily split into four Parts for that purpose. These Trees appear extremely beautiful.

Mexico.

Cabbage.

Mexico.

The Calabash.

tiful in the Forests, spreading their fine Branches above the Heads of all other Trees.

The *Calabash-Tree* is short and thick, and the Fruit grows among the Boughs as Apples do; the Shell is hard and thin, of a globular Figure, and will hold from two to five Quarts. There are two sorts of them; of the one, the Fruit is sweet; of the other, bitter: The Substance of both spongy and juicy. The *Indians* eat the sweet *Calabash* frequently on a Journey; but it is not very palatable: The bitter is Medicinal, and esteem'd a Remedy for Agues. But what this Fruit is most valued for, is its Shell, of which the *Indians* make Bottles, Bowls, Drinking-cups, and all kind of Vessels for their Meat and Drink.

The Cacao-Tree and Nut.

The *Cacao* (not the *Coco*, as my Printer mistook in the third Number) shall be described next. This Tree, full grown, and of the largest sort, according to *Dampier*, is seven or eight Foot high to the Branches, and a Foot and a half thick: The Boughs spread horizontally, like the Oak; and have dark green Leaves, like those of the Plum-tree, but larger; and the Nuts are inclosed in Cods, which hang down by a tough Stalk from the Body of the Tree, and from the larger Branches; and there is usually about twenty or thirty of these Cods upon a well-bearing Tree. The Cod, or Shell, is almost half an Inch thick, neither spongy nor woody, but of a Substance between both, brittle and harder than the Rind of a Lemon, and, like that, the Surface is grained or knotted, but more coarse and unequal. The Cods are, at first, of a dark Green; but the Side next the Sun of a muddy Red. As they ripen, the Green turns to a fine bright Yellow, and the Muddy to a more beautiful Red.

They

They neither ripen, nor are gather'd at once; Mexico. but, for three Weeks or a Month, while the Season lasts, the Overseers of the Plantations go every Day to see which are turn'd yellow, not cutting more than one or two from a Tree in a Day. When the Cods are gather'd, they are laid in Heaps to sweat; after which, they break the Rind or Shell, and take out the Nuts, which stick close together in regular Rows, like the Grain in an Ear of *Maiz*. There are fourscore or an hundred Nuts in a Cod, according to *Dampier* (thirty or forty, according to *Funnel*; but ten or fifteen, says *Gemelli Careri*) about the Bigness of an Almond. The young Trees are raised from Nuts, and bear in four or five Years; and they have from five hundred to two thousand Trees in a Plantation, or *Cacao-Walk*, as it is called. The young Trees are shelter'd from the Sun at first by Plantain-trees set about them; but, when they are grown to any Bigness, the Plantains are cut down.

Gemelli Careri gives us this Account of the Tree and Fruit. He says, the Nut is planted in a hot and dry Soil: That it springs up within a Fortnight, but does not grow above three Spans in two Years, at which Height it must be transplanted; and then the *Spaniards* set them in Rows, eighteen Spans from each other. A Stake is set up to support them, and Plantains and other Trees planted about them, because they thrive best in the Shade: However, the Root must be kept warm, and defended from too much Wet, and from a Species of Worms that are very prejudicial to them. Within the Space of five Years, it is as thick as a Man's Wrist, and seven Spans in height; and then it bears. Its Leaves are like

Mexico.

the Chestnut, and it blossoms all over like the Jessamin: From the Blossom shoots out an Ear, or Cod, like that of *Indian Wheat*, which is at first green, and of a Chestnut Colour when ripe; but sometimes yellow, white, or purple. Within the Ear (or Shell) are found the *Cacao-Nuts*, with a white Down upon them; being from ten to fifteen in Number. These Ears are gather'd about the Full of the Moon, and the Nuts, being taken out, are kept drying in the House, in the Shade; then laid three Days in the Sun, and afterwards in the House, till they are well dried.

Venella.

The *Venella*, or *Bainilla*, call'd by the *Spaniards* *Bexuco*, which is usually mix'd with the *Cacao-Nut* to make Chocolate, is a sort of Cane, which twines about the Orange-tree, or any other, like Ivy: It produces a long green Cod, which, when gather'd and dry'd in the Sun, is hard and blackish. He observes, that the *Europeans* to every Pound of *Cacao* add a Pound of Sugar, and an Ounce of Cinnamon: But neither the *Indians*, or the *Spaniards* of *America*, use any *Venella's*, esteeming them unwholesome. The best Chocolate, according to the *Indians* is made with Cinnamon, adding to every Pound of *Cacao* two Ounces of *Indian Wheat*. This Liquor was drank by the *Indians* (without Cinnamon) before the *Spaniards* arriv'd there; but they have improved it, and it is so common now at *Mexico*, that there is scarce a Negro or a common Porter but drinks it every Day, and the better sort of People four times a Day. *Gemelli* observes, that *Cacao-Nuts* go in the Markets of *Mexico* instead of small Money, twelve or fifteen of them being about the Value of a Penny; but they rise

rise and fall in their Value, according to the ^{Mexico}
Plenty or Scarcity of this Fruit.

Plantains and *Bananoes* are Fruits very com- <sup>*Plantains*
and *Bananoes*.</sup>
mon here, as well as in *Africa* and the *East-Indies*. The *Plantain* Fruit is of the Size and Shape of a *Bologna Sausage*; the Rind yellow, and very tender, which being stripped off, we find a soft luscious Pulp, very agreeable to some Palates: It has the largest Leaf of any Plant. The *Banano* is much the same kind of Fruit, but less; and both of them are eaten raw, or roasted, by the Natives all Day long. They steep them also in Water, and, adding some Honey to them, make a Liquor tolerably strong and pleasant.

The *Pine-Apple* also is common to the *East* ^{The *Pine-Apple*.} and *West-Indies*. It is of the Shape of one of our *Pine-Apples*, but much larger; the Rind full as rough, but easily pared off: The Fruit is yellow, and as firm as a Peach; and is generally said to have the Taste of every delicious Fruit. Nothing can excell those I met with in the *East-Indies*; but they were held to be hot and feverish. The *Spaniards*, who preserve all manner of Fruits, esteem this the best. The Reader will find a full Description of the Tree and Fruit, as also of the *Plantain* and *Banano*, in the third Volume of *Modern History*, which treats of the *East-Indies*.

The *Sapadillo* resembles the *Pear-tree* in its ^{*Sapadillo*.} Size and Figure, and the Fruit appears to the View like that of the *Bergamot-pear*. When first gather'd, the Juice is white and clammy, and the Pulp hard; but, after it has lain two or three Days, it becomes soft and very sweet. In the middle of it are two or three black Stones or Seeds; and it is generally esteemed an excellent cooling Fruit.

The

Mexico.

*Avogato-
Pear.*

The *Avogato* Pear-tree is of the Size of the former, and not unlike it in Shape; the Fruit green, and as large as a Lemon, and, when ripe, turns yellow: It has a soft thin Rind, which is peeled off; and the Pulp is as soft as Butter, but a little insipid; and therefore they usually mix it with Sugar and Lime-Juice; and, thus order'd, the *Spaniards* esteem it an excellent Dish, eating often of it: And it is the more esteemed by that People, according to *Dampier*, as it inspires them with fresh Vigour for *Veneraal* Encounters.

*Mammee-
Tree.*

The *Mammee-Tree* is a large, tall, strait-bodied Tree, without Knots or Branches for sixty or seventy Foot in height: The Head spreads its Branches pretty wide; the Fruit is round, and of the Size of a *French* Pippin; the Rind yellow, and tough when it is ripe; the Pulp yellow, and has in it two large Stones as big as Almonds: It has a fine fragrant Smell, and the Taste is answerable.

*Mammee-
Sappota-
Tree.*

The *Mammee-Sappota-Tree* is not so large or tall as the former; the Rind of the Fruit thin and brittle, and the Pulp a deep Red, with a rough flat Stone in it: This Fruit is extremely well relish'd, and wholesome; and as generally eaten as any Fruit in the *West-Indies*. There is also the *Wild Mammee-Tree*, which bears no Fruit; but the Timber, being very strait and tall, serves for Masts for Ships.

*Grape-
Tree.*

The *Grape-Tree* is seven or eight Foot high, and two or three in Circumference; the Fruit about the Bigness of a common Grape, and grows in Clusters, but has a great Stone in the middle of it; the Pulp is reddish, wholesome, and well tasted; tho' there is but little of it.

Guava.

The *Guava* is common to the *East* and *West-Indies*; grows upon a Shrub; the Fruit green

green on the Outside, perfectly round, and of Mexico. the Size of a Crab-apple; the Rind is soft, and, being taken off, we find a yellow or reddish Pulp, full of Seeds: It has both a tart and sweetish Flavour, very agreeable to the Palate; but most valuable for being of such an astringent Nature, that it will either prevent or cure a *Dysentery* or *Bloody Flux* (the Distemper that the *Europeans* are most liable to in all hot Countries) if the Patient has not neglected himself too long: And the Pomegranate has much the same Effect. If our People were acquainted with the Virtues of these, and some other Fruits, when they first arrive in the *East* or *West-Indies*, we should not lose half the Men we usually do; for they are to be had at any time of the Year almost. The *Guava* is esteem'd more wholesome when it is green, than when it is ripe; for some have observed, when it is over-ripe, it has a laxative Quality.

The *Prickle-Pear* is a Shrub about five Foot high, that delights in a barren sandy Soil, especially if it be near the Sea, where the Sand is brackish. It is so full of large strong Thorns (from whence it takes its Name) that nothing makes a securer Fence. The Fruit is as big as a large Plum, and opens when ripe like a Medlar, discovering a red Pulp full of Seeds; pleasant to the Taste, and very cooling and refreshing; but colours the Urine like Blood, which has frighten'd Strangers that were not acquainted with it: However, this is attended with no ill Consequences.

The *Bibby-Tree* has a strait slender Body, naked of Leaves, but full of Thorns; sixty or seventy Foot high: At the Top it is full of Branches, among which grows the Fruit, being

Mexico. ing white Berries, of the Bignels of a Nutmeg: They are very oily: The *Indians* beat them in a Mortar, and boil the Liquor that comes from them, which produces a bitter Oil that they anoint themselves with, and mix it with the Colours they use in painting their Bodies. They also tap the *Bibby-Tree*, and it affords them a tart Liquor, of the Colour of Whey, which is fit to drink, after they have kept it two or three Days.

*European
Fruits
here.*

Besides the Fruits proper to *Mexico*, the *Spaniards* have introduced *Oranges*, *Lemons*, *Grapes*, *Figs*, and almost all manner of *European* Fruits, except *Nuts* and *Cherries*: But the No Wine. *Grapes* of this Country will not make Wine; nor do I remember any Country between the Tropics, where Wine is made of *Grapes*, unless in *Peru*, where they have not those excessive Rains annually as they have in every other Country that lies within the Tropics.

As to their *Sugar*, *Indico*, *Olla*, *Silvester*, and other *Dyes*; *Tobacco*, *Pepper*, *Ginger*, and such Plants as they have in common with the rest of *America*; I shall describe them hereafter when I come to treat of the *British* Plantations.

Gourds.

But I must not forget their *Gourds*, which grow to a very large Size, and either run upon the Ground, or up the Trees; the Meat or Pulp of some of them serving for Food, and others for Medicine: But they are valued most by the *Natives* for their Shells, which serve them for Pails, Bowls, and Buckets.

*Melons,
&c.*

As to *Melons*, *Cucumbers*, and *Onions*, they have them in much greater Perfection here, and in all hot Countries, than in colder Climates.

Silk-grafs.

There is also a very useful Plant here, to which the *English* have given the Name of *Silk-grafs*.

Silk-grass. It pretty much resembles *Flags* or *Mexico.*
Sedge, and grows on the Sides of Hills. The
 Leaves are as thick as a Man's Hand in the
 middle, and thin at the Edges; a Yard or
 two in Length, and indented like a Saw. The
Indians cut them at a proper Growth; then
 dry and beat them, and no Flax affords a bet-
 ter Thread; and of these they make Cordage
 and Fishing-nets, Stockings and Hammocks:
 They also make a yellowish Lace of the
 Thread, which is worn by the *Mestise* Wo-
 men.

There are still some other Trees I have *Manchi-*
 omitted, which deserve a particular notice, as *nel-Tree.*
 the *Manchinel-Tree*, whose Fruit is in Smell,
 Taste and Colour like a lovely Apple, but less,
 and of a poisonous Nature; insomuch, that if
 any Animal has been feeding on it, the Flesh
 of the Creature will poison the Man that eats
 it. These Trees have large Bodies, fine spread
 Heads, full of Leaves; but are very low: The
 Wood has a curious Grain; and therefore is
 sometimes used in Carving and Cabinet-work;
 but the very Sap, 'tis said, will raise Blisters
 where it falls, as will the Rain-water which
 runs from it, according to *Waser*.

They have also *Tamarinds*, *Locust-Trees*, *Tama-*
 and a *Bastard Cinnamon*, in *Mexico*: And *rinds, Lo-*
Gemelli Careri gives us this farther Account of *cust, Bas-*
 the *Sapotes*. He observes, there are four sorts *tard Cin-*
 of them: 1. The *Black Sapotes*, as big as a *Sapotes, a*
 Walnut-tree, but the Leaves smaller; the *farther*
 Fruit round, and has a thin green Rind; the *Account*
 Pulp of the Colour and Taste of *Cassia*, with *of them.*
 four small Kernels in it. 2. The *White Sa-*
potés, as tall as a Pear-tree, and the Fruit as
 large as a Pear; green without, and white
 within; and has four white Kernels: This

Mexico.

Fruit inclines People to sleep. 3. The *Sapote Borachio*, or *Drunken Sapote*, so called from its inebriating Quality: A pleasant tart Fruit. 4. The *Little Sapote*, whose Fruit is of a purple Colour, and pleasant tasted; and as much valued as any Fruit that grows in *Mexico*.

Grana-
dilla.

The Sea-
son of
Fruit.

Maghey-
ree is
Liquor.

The *Granadilla de China* grows like Ivy, winding about some neighbouring Tree till it perfectly covers it: The Fruit is as big as a Hen's Egg, white and yellow without, and white within; and has Seeds like the Grape: There is a pretty Mixture of sweet and sour in the Taste. Most of these Fruits are to be had, in the Markets of *Mexico*, from *March* to *September*; and the *Mammées* and *Black Sapote* grow on the Mountains all the Year round.

According to *Gemelli*, there is not a Plant of more general Use than the *Maghey*; for the Leaves, he says, furnish the Natives with Thread for Linnen and Cordage: It also yields Balsam, and a Liquor as sweet as Honey; into which the *Indians* infuse a Root that makes it ferment like Wine, and it is of equal Strength, making People very drunk. They distill a Spirit from it also as strong as Brandy: This was so universally drank in the City of *Mexico*, *Gemelli* relates, that the Excise of it came to eleven hundred thousand Pieces of Eight (about two hundred and fifty thousand Pounds *Sterling*) *per annum*: But the *Indians* frequently getting drunk and mad with this Liquor, and making an Insurrection in the Year 1692, when they set Fire to the Viceroy's Palace, and committed many other Outrages; it was prohibited for some time. However, the Duty being so considerable, *Gemelli* says, there came Orders from *Spain* to permit the making and drinking

drinking this Liquor again, when he was at Mexico. *Mexico* in the Year 1698.

I proceed, in the next place, to enquire *Gums* and into the most remarkable *Balms*, *Gums*, and *Drugs*. *Drugs*, that are found in *Mexico*; among which are the *Copal* and *Anime*; both of them a kind of Rosin, and not much unlike.

The *Copal* is very white and clear, and has *Gum Copal*. a pretty good Scent: Of this the *Indians* made *Incense* and *Perfumes* for their *Sacrifices* in their *Temples*; and, when the *Spaniards* first arrived, their *Priests* went out to meet them with little *Fire-pans*, or *Censers*, in which they burnt this *Copal*: And the *Spanish* *Physicians* now burn it under their *Patients* *Noses*, for *Diseases* arising from the *Coldness* of the *Head*.

The *Anime* also is a white Gum, or Rosin, *Anime*. distilling from a great Tree, and more oily than *Copal*: It has an exceeding pleasant Smell, when burnt. This also is used by *Physicians* for *Pains* in the *Head*, and in *Plasters* and *Sear-cloths* applied to the *Stomach*.

The *Gum Tacamahaca* is got by making *Tacamahaca*. Incisions in a Tree like a *Willow*: It has a very fine Scent, and is of great Use to dissolve Swellings, remove Pains in the *Limbs*, and in many other Cases: And the *Gum Coranna* *Coranna*. hath much the same Effects.

The *Liquid Amber* is obtained by making *Liquid Amber*. Incisions in a fine fair Tree that grows in *Mexico*. The *Bark* of this Tree, as well as the *Liquor* distilling from it, has an exceeding sweet Smell, but more when it is burnt; a little of it being sufficient to perfume whole Houses, and even Streets: It is mighty refreshing to the *Head*, and, used in *Plasters*,

Mexico. dissolves Swellings, and eases Pains in the Stomach or Limbs.

Oil of Amber. The Oil of Amber is drawn from *Liquid Amber*, and is esteemed an excellent Medicine for Pains in the Limbs, or dead Palsies, the Patient being rubbed with it.

Balsam. The Balm, or Balsam, usually called the *Balsam of Peru*, is also found in *Mexico*. The Tree that yields it, is of the Size and Figure of the Pomegranate-tree: It is got by making Incisions in the Bark, and is almost of all Colours, viz. white, red, green, and blackish: It is used both in Medicine and as a Perfume; and the *Indians* applied it to the healing of Wounds before the *Spaniards* arrived there. Taken inwardly, it is good for Coughs and Shortness of Breath; for Diseases in the Bladder, and for Obstructions: It strengthens the Stomach, and removes Pains in it; and is said to have many other Virtues. When the *Spaniards* first made use of it to cure their wounded Men, at the Siege of *Mexico*, as they had been taught by their *Indian* Allies, the Cures were perform'd so suddenly, that they imagined there was something miraculous in it. The best sort of this Balsam, which is obtained by Incision, is called *Opobalsamum*. There is another sort they get by boiling the Wood of the Tree cut into small Pieces, there arising a kind of Oil on the Top of the Liquor, which, when cool, grows thick, and is called *Xylobalsamum*.

There are three sorts of Wood also found in *Mexico*, of great Use in Medicine, viz. *Guaiacum*, *China Root*, and *Sarsaparilla*.

Guaiacum. The *Guaiacum* is a Tree as large as an Oak; the Bark dry, but full of Gum; the Heart of the Tree almost black, very hard, and ponderous;

derous: It has a small Leaf, and yields a yellow Flower, out of which proceeds a round Fruit, of the Size of a Crab-apple, with small Kernels. The Physicians make a Decoction of the Wood and Bark, cut into thin Slices, for their Patients; and it is held to be an excellent Remedy for the *French Disease*. It is said also to cure the Dropsy, and many other Distempers.

The *China Root* we received first from *China*: *China Root*. But this is also a *Mexican Plant*, and is said to have much the same Virtues as the former, and to give Relief in the Gout and Sciatica.

The *Sarsaparilla* also is chiefly remarkable for its Roots, which are very long and large. It is found in the Province of *Honduras*. They sometimes make a Syrup of it; but it is taken several Ways, for the same Distempers, as the *China-Root* is taken.

The Root *Melboacan*, which takes its Name from a Province of *Mexico*, where it is found, is another excellent Medicine in the Dropsy, Jaundice, and many other Distempers.

The Roots which serve the *Indians* chiefly for Food, are the *Cassava*, or *Cassabi Root*, *Yams*, and *Potatoes*.

The *Cassava Root* something resembles a Parsnip. There are two sorts of them; the one sweet and innocent, the other poisonous: The sweet sort they roast, and eat as they do Potatoes and other Roots: Of the poisonous sort they first boil and press out all the Juice, then dry and grind it to Powder, and make Biscuit of it; and this is the only Bread or Flour they have in most Parts of *South America*, and in some Provinces of *North America*. But the Natives, for the most part, in *North America*, make Bread and Flour of *Maiz*, or *Indian*

Mexico, *Indian Corn*, as they did before the *Spaniards* came thither.

As to *Yams*, *Potatoes*, *Rbadishes*, &c. they need no Description: I shall only observe, that all manner of *European* Roots and Fruits grow much larger, and come to much greater Perfection there than here; and that the *Spaniards* have transported thither almost every Species of Herbs and Sallads.

Corn and
Husbandry.

I come now to speak of their Husbandry. The *Spaniards* have carried over Wheat and Barley, Peas and Beans, and other *European* Grain, which thrive very well in some Places; but their principal Grain is still (as it was before the Conquest) *Maiz*, or *Indian Corn*, which is the Food of Men, of Horses, Mules and Oxen. This they plant in little Hillocks, like those in our Hop-grounds, at the beginning of the rainy Season, in *May* or *June*; and reap in *October*, when the fair Weather returns. They may, and some of them do, plant this Grain at other Times, and it grows pretty well; but the Spring is the general Seed Time; and their principal Harvest falls in our Autumn.

This *Maiz*, or *Indian Corn*, we see frequently brought to *England*: The Stem is as big as a small Cane, and usually bears two or three Heads or Ears, in each of which are several hundred Grains, set as close as possible; being of a yellow Colour, and tasting much like our dry'd Peas, pretty strong; and the Bread or Cakes made of the Flour is harsh and unpalatable, if it is not eat the same Day it is made. This Grain they also steep in Water, and make strong Drink of it, as has been observed already. They sow *European* Wheat, Barley, Peas and Beans almost at any Time, only contriving

contriving that the Harvest may be in the fair Mexico.
Season.

The *Spaniards* of *Mexico*, beside their Arable, Grazing.
have large Grazing-Farms, in which one Gra-
zier shall have several hundred Head of black
Cattle, and a great many thousand Sheep.
During the rainy Season, which lasts near half
the Year, and for some Months after, they
never want good Pasture. When the Mea-
dows and low Grounds are overflow'd, their
Hills produce Plenty of Grass. They are
most put to it for Fodder in *February*, *March*
and *April*, when their Grounds are burnt up;
and there is very little Grass to be met with,
except on the Banks of their Lakes and Ri-
vers, and in the Woods; then they have little
else to feed them with, but Barley and *Indian*
Corn, Straw, and the Blades that shoot from
the *Indian* Corn, which is not much better than
Straw; for they make no Hay in any hot
Countries.

As to the *Indians*, who have hitherto pre- Plantati-
ons of the
Indians.
served their Liberties, and are not yet under
the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, they have only
small Plantations among the Woods, at a dis-
tance from the *Spanish* Towns; where they
plant a little *Maiz*, *Yams* and *Potatoes*, with
some few *Plantains*, and other Fruits. The
Men cut down the Timber, and clear the
Ground at first; but both the planting and
gathering in the Grain and Fruits are left en-
tirely to the Women, as well as the Business
within Doors: And, as the unconquer'd *Indi-
ans* subsist chiefly by hunting and fishing, ma-
ny of them, 'tis said, plant little or nothing,
but rob the *Spanish* Plantations, of which they
look upon themselves the true Proprietors, and
furnish

Mexico. furnish themselves that way with Corn, Cocoa, and other Provisions.

Rice. The Spaniards, beside their *Maize*, *Wheat*, and other *European* Grain, sow some *Rice*; for which this Country (being flooded every Year) is extremely proper, that Grain growing in Water: They plant *Rice* therefore soon after the rainy Season begins, and it is fit to be moved by that time the fair Weather returns. They have also large Farms or Plantations of *Sugar*, *Tobacco*, and *Indico*; but of the Cultivation and Husbandry of these I shall enlarge in the Description of the *British* Plantations, where they are brought to as great Perfection as any-where.

Sugar-Farms, Plantations of Tobacco, Indico, &c.

Logwood, Cochineel Plantations, Silvester, Otta, Cotton, Salt, Fisheries. They are pretty much employ'd also in cutting *Logwood* in their *Cochineel* Plantations, and looking after the *Silvester*, *Otta*, and other Dying Plants and Herbs; in cultivating and dressing their *Cotton*; in the making of *Salt*, and in their *Fisheries*, which are very considerable on their Sea-coasts, and in their numerous Lakes and Rivers.

Mexican Flowers.

As to Flowers, *Acosta* observes, that the *Indians* are extremely fond of them, and have great Variety, which they make up into *Nosegays*, and present to their Superiors, when they have any Favour to ask, or would testify their Esteem and Affection for them: That their great Men are seldom seen without a *Nosegay* in their Hands; and they always present them to their Guests at Entertainments, expressing a great deal of Art in the matching and disposing of the Flowers: That they now use *Spanish* Flowers, as well as those of the Country; and that *European* Flowers come to great Perfection there; namely, *Roses*, *Jasmine*, *Violets*, *Gilliflowers*, and several others that have been transported

transported from *Spain*. As to the Names of *Mexico*. the *Indian* Flowers, *Acosta* does not mention them; only says, they have blue, red, violet, yellow and white, and a thousand different Colours; which the *Indians* used to wear on their Heads, as they did Peathers, for Ornament: But he acknowledges, their Flowers do not smell very sweet, unless they be the Blossoms or Flowers that grow upon Trees; one of which he calls the *Floripondro*, which bears no Fruit, but the Flowers are larger than a Lilly, and remain upon the Tree all the Year round; the Scent whereof is exceeding sweet and agreeable, Morning and Evening. Another Tree bears a Flower of the Shape of an Heart, whose Scent is too strong and sweet to be borne with Pleasure: And the Tree *Grana-dilla*, the Superstitious imagine, has the Portraiture of the Instruments of our Saviour's Passion; as the Nails, the Pillar to which he was fasten'd, the Scourge and Crown of Thorns, and the five Wounds: But *Acosta* acknowledges, it requires a very lively Imagination, and a great deal of Faith, to discover these Things.

But how beautiful soever the *Indian* Flowers may be to the Eye, every one, who has resided in hot Countries, must know they have little or no Scent (except those on their Trees.) The Sun appears to be a great Enemy to fragrant Flowers, where it shines with an intense Heat. We may observe, even in this cool Climate, that no Flowers smell so sweetly in the Heat of the Day, as they do Morning and Evening. Therefore those who recommend *Mexico* for its *odoriferous* Herbs and Flowers, are certainly under a Mistake; tho' it is true,

Mexico.

they abound in sweet Woods and Aromatic Gums, which make some Amends for this Defect. And thus having gone through their Vegetables, as far as is consistent with a Work of this general Nature, I proceed to enquire into their Minerals.



C H A P.



CHAP. X.

Of the Mexican Minerals; their Coin; their Precious Stones and Pearls; and of their Weights and Measures.



T was an insatiable Thirst after Mexico. these rich Treasures, that chiefly incited the Spaniards to visit the Mexican Shores, and plant Colonies in that new World. A Zeal for the Propagation of Christianity, which they pretended, was certainly a very laudable Motive for their passing the *Atlantic* Ocean; but had there been no Gold, Silver, or precious Stones to be found there, possibly the Adventurers had not been very numerous.

The Gold and Silver Mines of *Mexico* are in the rocky, mountainous, and barren Parts of the Country; and, indeed, neither these or any other Metals are found in a fruitful Soil.

Gold is found here either in Grains, in Dust in the Sands of Rivers, or in Stone in the Mines. The Grains are small Pieces of Gold, like the Seeds or Kernels of Fruit, which are found without the Mixture of any other Metal, and have no need of melting or refining: And *Acosta* assures us, he has seen these so large as to weigh many Pounds; and sometimes they find Pieces very fine and pure, like small round Roots. But much the greatest Quantity of Gold is found in Dust in the Sands of Ri-

Mexico.
Minerals.

Gold
Mines.

Mexico.

vers and Torrents, after the Rains have fallen ; and it is the Business of many thousand *Indians* and *Negroes* to take up and wash such Sands, in Bowls and Basons, till they have separated the Gold from the Sand. As to the Gold which is found in the Mines, it is intermix'd, and in a manner incorporated, with great hard Stones ; some of which, the same Writer relates, he has seen, that were half Gold and half Stone : That it runs in Veins like Silver, and is exceeding hard to dig and separate : That this Gold is usually mix'd with Silver or Copper ; and that which is incorporated with Copper is the best. The Gold seems to lie much nearer the Surface than Silver, it being found in large Pieces at the Roots of Trees on the Mountains, and wash'd into the Rivers by the Rains ; and, as far as I can learn, if they do not find it pretty near the Surface in the Mines, they never dig so deep for it as they do for Silver. Another Observation they make is, that Gold is usually found in very hot Countries, and seldom in a cold Climate ; from whence some imagine, the Sun has a great Share in producing it. The purest Gold in *Mexico* is found in the Province of *Veragua*.

The Reason that Gold is more esteem'd than any other Metal, *Acosta* observes, is, because it is the most durable and incorruptible ; for Fire, which consumes and diminishes other Metals, amends this, and brings it to Perfection. Gold keeps its Colour also, tho' it have often pass'd through the Fire ; and, notwithstanding the Body is so firm and solid, yet is it the most soft and malleable, and the most easily wrought, of any other Metal. But I take it, that the chief Reason Gold is more valued than other Metals is, the Scarcity of

it,

it, and the Difficulty of coming at it; for ^{Mexico.} Iron, no doubt, is much more useful and serviceable than Gold; and, were it as scarce, would be much more valued, all manner of Tools, Arms, and Instruments of Husbandry, being made of this Metal, and no other so proper for these Uses.

Acosta begins his Description of Silver with Silver the following Passage out of the Book of *Job*, ^{Mines.} viz. *Silver hath certain Beginnings and Roots in its Veins; and Gold hath a settled Place where it engenders and thickens; Iron, with digging, is drawn out of the Earth; and Stone, molten with Heat, is turn'd into Copper.* Thus, says that Writer, *Job* wisely shews, in few Words, the Nature of Silver, Gold, Iron, and Copper: But, methinks, very little of the Nature of these Metals is to be learnt from this Passage. Thus much, however, may be observed from hence, That the Ancients, in those very early Ages, used to work such Mines, and understood how to separate and purify such Metals.

The same Writer proceeds to observe, that the Reason the second Place among these Metals is given to Silver, is, that it approaches nearer Gold than any other; is more durable, less endamaged by Fire, and more malleable; and even surpasses Gold in its Brightness, Beauty, and Sound: For the Colour, says he, more resembles Light, and the Sound is more lively, than the other. But I must observe, as on the last Head, that the principal Reason Silver has the second Place in our Esteem is, that it is more difficult to come at than any Metal, but Gold; for Iron is certainly much more useful than Silver. But *Acosta* very justly observes farther, that there has
been

Mexico. been more Silver found in *America* than in all Parts of the World besides; tho' *China* and *Guinea* seem to have a greater Plenty of Gold.

The Silver Mines, as has been hinted already, are usually found in barren Rocks and Mountains; tho' they are sometimes met with in plain and champain Fields. There are two several sorts of them; the one straggling here and there in Spots, the other more continuous and fix'd. It is the fix'd Mine that has the greatest Depth and Length; and these are said to resemble the Branches and Ramifications of Trees and Plants; and where they find one, they usually meet with a great many in the same Place. The *Indians*, it seems, knew how to purify Silver by Fire, and to separate it from Lead and other Metals, before the *Spaniards* came amongst them; but they knew nothing of the Art of refining it by Quicksilver, which the *Spaniards* use at this Day. There are some sorts of Silver Oar, which cannot be purified and refined by Fire alone without Quicksilver; This kind of Oar they call *Poor*, from its yielding but little Silver, and great Quantity of baser Metals.

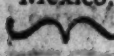
The Veins where they find Silver run between two Rocks; the one commonly hard as Flint, and the other softer and easy to break. The Oar is very unequal; for in the same Vein they find that which is very rich, and that which is very poor: The richest Oar is of an Amber Colour, and the second sort that which inclines to black; a third is red, and a fourth of an Ash Colour; and some of the Oar is scarce to be distinguish'd from common Stone, unless by those who are well skill'd in Minerals. It is usual to draw from one Quintal,

tal (or five hundred Weight) of Oar, thirty, ^{Mexico.} forty, and fifty Peso's of Silver, of the Value of thirteen Ryals (six Shillings and Six-pence :) And *Acosta* relates, that he saw some from whence was extracted two hundred and fifty Peso's out of every Quintal; but this is a very great Rarity. The poorest Oar yields from two to six Peso's the Quintal, or very little more: This the *Indians* look'd upon as rubbish before the *Spaniards* came, not being able to refine it by Fire; but this is found to be much easier refined by Quicksilver than the richest Oar; and they use Quicksilver now both in *Mexico* and *Peru*, which is found to extract more Silver out of any Oar than the Fire will: But, as they have no Mines of Quicksilver in *Mexico*, as they have in *Peru*, the Silver is refin'd at a much easier Expence in *Peru*, than it is in the Country I am describing.

As the rich Oar yields much Silver, so it consumes a great deal of Quicksilver; and that which yields but little Silver, wastes but little Quicksilver.

The manner of refining Silver, according ^{Refining} to *Acosta*, is thus: They first grind or beat ^{of Silver.} the Oar to Powder, and then sift it through a fine Sieve: After which, they put the Powder into Vessels, and set it over Furnaces, putting to every fifty Quintals of Oar five Quintals of Salt, the Salt separating the Earth and Dross from the Silver, and making way for the Quicksilver to operate more effectually: Then they strain the Quicksilver through a Piece of fine Linnen into the Oar, stirring it about, so that it may the better incorporate with the Oar. Before they used Furnaces, they mingled the Oar with the Quicksilver in great Troughs, letting

Mexico.


 letting it remain some Days, and then mixed and stirred it till they thought the Quicksilver was well incorporated with the Silver, which was about twenty Days; but when they found that Fire incorporated them much sooner, they set their Vessels over Furnaces, and, in five or six Days, the Quicksilver is incorporated with the Silver. When the Mercury has done its Part, and assembled all the Silver, leaving nothing behind, but is filled as a Sponge with Water, and has separated the Silver from the Lead and Copper, with which it was engender'd; they put the Oar into Coppers and Vessels full of Water, turning it about with Wheels, and washing of it: Whereupon the Earth and Dross goes off with the Water that runs away, and the Silver and Quicksilver, being more ponderous, remains at Bottom. Then they take it out, and wash it again in other Tubs and Vessels, until they have well cleansed the Silver and Quicksilver from all the Dross: After which, they strain it thro' Cloths, and make it into the Form of Sugar-Loaves, of about an hundred Pound Weight each; on which they put Earthen Vessels or Caps of the same Shape; and, setting these over a violent Fire, the Quicksilver exhales in Smoak, which, striking against the Earthen Cap, thickens and distills like the Smoak of a Pot cover'd; and by a Pipe, like that of a Limbeck, they receive the Quicksilver, which distills from it, the Silver remaining without changing its Form; but its Weight is diminish'd five Parts in six, and is light and porous like a Sponge. Thus the Quicksilver is separated from the Silver; and of two of these Loaves they make one Bar of Silver, of sixty-five or sixty-six Marks Weight,

eight

eight Ounces in every Mark, and then carry them to be touch'd and mark'd. Mexico.

Gemelli Careri relates, that when he was at Mexico, in the Year 1698, he went to see the Silver Mines of *Pachuca*; one of which, called *Santa Cruz*, was two hundred twenty-four English Yards deep; and the other, called *Navarro*, was an hundred and ninety-five Yards deep: That out of the first, the Oar was drawn up by Wheels, which were kept in perpetual Motion by four Mules, and as one Bucket came up another went down; and that they drain'd the Mine of Water the same way: That out of the Mine called *Navarro*, the *Indians* brought up the Oar on their Backs with imminent Danger, climbing up many Ladders, or rather upright Posts with Notches in them; for which they were paid four Ryals (two Shillings) a Day, and at Night were allow'd to carry up as much Oar as they could at once, and share it with the Owner of the Mine. The same Writer relates, that he went to see the Mines on a neighbouring Mountain, where he found a little City of thatch'd Houses, not less than twelve thousand *Indians* getting a Livelihood by digging in those Mines; adding, that there are, within six Leagues of that Mountain, no less than a thousand Mines; and that out of one of those, called the *Trinity*, nine hundred or a thousand Men were employ'd every Day, and, within the Space of ten Years, had drawn forty Millions of Silver (I presume he means Pieces of Eight or Crowns:) And that it had cost them two Millions to prop up those Mines with Timber, and throw out the Water; and it was then become so dangerous, that there was no working of it: And, indeed, nothing is so common

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Mexico. with the *Spaniards* of *Mexico* and *Peru*, as to dig Mountains perfectly hollow, in Search of Silver, and leave nothing but a Crust of Earth and Rocks, which it requires no small Skill and Labour to support, till they have exhausted the Treasure.

But tho' the *Trinity* Mine was become impracticable, our Author says they sunk another near it, no less rich; into which he had the Curiosity to go and see the Veins of Silver, and, having gone down five Ladders or Stages, he was astonish'd to see how likely the Mine was to tumble in, and would have gone up again, but the Miner, his Guide, who carried a Light in his Hand, persuaded him to go down the rest; which he did, in great Fear, because he found it difficult sometimes to clasp the Post in his Arms, in which the Steps were cut, and fix his Feet in the Notches: But having, at length, gone down three times as far as the Miner told him it was, he came at last to the Place where the Workmen, with Iron Wedges, were splitting the hard Oar, and made it fly about; but they inform'd him, that it was softer in some Places, and of various Colours.

When he was at the Bottom of the Mine, he began to reflect on the Danger he run, not only of falling, but of the pestilential Damps that frequently arise in these dismal Caverns: After he had staid there about two Hours, therefore, he went up again in the utmost Terror, the Ascent being exceeding difficult; and, when he got up into the open Air again, he seem'd newly born into the World, and condemn'd the Rashness of the Attempt, wherein he thought he ran more Hazards than he had done in travelling round the Globe.

and

2 X

IIIVXXX

From

From this Mine *Gemelli* went to see the Oar ^{Mexico.} separated at the Silver-works in *Pachuca*; where he observed the Workmen, when the Oar was brought to them, first broke it in pieces with Hammers, to separate the Metal from the Tepate, or Stone, that had no Silver in it: After which, they sent the good Oar to the Mills to be reduced to Powder, where they beat it as Gun-powder is beaten in our Mills. He afterwards proceeds to shew how it is refined; but, having taken this from *Acosta*, I omit that Part of his Relation, and observe, that Quicksilver being scarce at *Mexico*, the Owners of the Mines have much less Profit than in *Peru*: Whereupon the King, instead of a Fifth he receives there, takes but a tenth Part of the Silver here.

Any Person, who discovers a Mine of Gold or Silver in *Mexico*, may work it, paying the King's Tenth of the Product; and the King's Officers assign the Discoverer sixty Yards round about the Place he chooses to dig; beyond which Space another may open a Mine, leaving five Yards between them for a Partition: And, as they sink under Ground, one may work into another's Division, till he meets with his Workmen; but then he must desist, and retire into his own Part.

All the Silver dug in the Mines of *Mexico*, or *New Spain*, is brought to the King's Exchequer in the Capital City, and enter'd there; except what is run and concealed, which amounts to a great deal: And it is related, that there are two Millions of Marks, of eight Ounces each, enter'd in one Year; out of which they coin annually, in that Mint, seven hundred thousand Marks into Pieces of Eight.

Any one may open a Mine.

Four Millions Sterling produced annually.

Mexico.

Silver
Coin.

There are five sorts of Money coin'd in the Mint of *Mexico*, viz. Pieces of Eight (of the Value of four Shillings and Six-pence each) Half Pieces of Eight, Quarter Pieces, Single Ryals (about the Value of Six-pence *English*) and Half-Ryals.

There being some Gold frequently mixed with the Silver, they are separated in this manner, viz. The Metal being run and converted into little Balls, these are put into Vessels, with *Aqua-fortis*, to dissolve, and the Gold remains at the Bottom of the Vessel like black Powder: Then the *Aqua-fortis*, containing the Silver, is put into two Glasses, their Mouths fix'd together, and, Fire being put to them, the Silver remains in one of the Glasses. The Gold is afterwards run in a Furnace, and cast first into round Pieces, and then into Bars; as is also the Silver separated from it: And the Gold is coin'd into Pieces of Sixteen, Eight, Four, or two Pieces of Eight; which are call'd Crowns of Gold.

Gold
Coin.Officers of
the Mint
at *Mexico*.

All the chief Officers of the Mint at *Mexico*, such as the Treasurer, the Assayer, Cutter, Clerk, Weigher, two Guards, and two Alcalds, are appointed by the King; and all the inferior Officers by the Treasurer. The principal Officers purchase their Places, and have the Privilege of making them over, or assigning them to whom they please; but then the Officer that resigns must live twenty Days after his Resignation, to make it valid; and he, to whom the Resignation is made, must acquaint the Viceroy with it within sixty Days, and pay a third Part of the Value of his Place to the King, and the other to his Predecessor or his Heirs.

The

The Treasurer's Place is worth between fifty and sixty thousand Pieces of Eight (four Shillings and Six-pence each) *per annum*; those of Assayer and Founder, settled for ever on the Monastery and Hermitage of the *Barefooted Carmelites of Mexico*, fifteen or sixteen thousand Pieces of Eight *per annum*. The rest of the chief Officers have three thousand five hundred, and none of them less than eight hundred Pieces of Eight *per ann.* The Masters of the eight Furnaces and twenty Coiners have each of them eight hundred or a thousand Pieces of Eight *per ann.* and the meanest Servant earns a Piece of Eight a Day, a great Number of which being the Treasurer's Slaves, he has the Profit of their Places.

Mexico.
Their Sa-
laries.

As to the *Indians*, they had no Coin of any sort when the *Spaniards* came amongst them; Gold and Silver served them only for Ornament: Their Traffick consisted in bartering and exchanging one thing for another; only the Cacao-Nuts served them to purchase Herbs and Flowers, and Things of small Value; as they do still in the Markets of *Mexico*, neither the *Spaniards* or *Indians* having any Copper Coin.

No Coin
among the
Indians.

As to Weights, the *Indians* had none; but they had both dry and liquid Measures, made either of *Calabashes*, *Bamboe-Canes*, or Wood, by which they distinguish'd Quantity: And they had their Numbers and Characters, by which they adjusted the Value of Goods and the Taxes imposed on them.

As to Stones for building, there are in *Mexico* Quarries of *Jasper*, *Porphry*, and all kinds of excellent Marble; for of such Stones, the *Spanish* Historians relate, the Palaces and Temples

Stones for
building.

Mexico. Temples of *Mexico* were built before the Conquest.

Precious Stones and Jewels. They mention also a great many precious Stones and Jewels in the Ornaments of *Montezuma*; but have not specified what they were, unless Emeralds and Pearls, and of these the

Emeralds.

The Emerald is a green Stone, and, according to *Acosta*, grows in a Stone like Crystal; and, he says, they seem by little and little to harden and refine: Some he had seen that were half white and half green; others all white, and some perfectly green, which were most esteemed: He had seen some of them as big as a Nut; and there were others larger. But as to the Emeralds, mention'd by the Ancients, in the Temples of *Jupiter* and *Hercules*, several Cubits long, of which Pillars were form'd, he says, there might be green Stones called Emeralds; but they were certainly false Emeralds, and not comparable to the true.

Pearls.

With their Jewels and precious Stones I may very well range their Pearls; of which there are great Quantities found on the Coasts of *Mexico*, as well as in the Seas of *South America*: Multitudes of *Indians* and other Slaves have been destroy'd by the *Spaniards* in this Part of the World, in fishing up the Oysters that contain them. These Slaves, *Acosta* relates, were forced to dive into six, nine, and even twelve Fathoms Water, in Search of these Oysters, which are fasten'd to Rocks and gravel in the Sea; and that they continue above a quarter of an Hour under Water, as he himself had seen, being dieted in such a manner as might best enable them to hold their Breath. The same Writer observes, that Pearls differ much

much in their Size, Figure, Colour, and Lustre; and that it is very rare to find two of the same Size, Form, and Colour; and, when they do find two alike in all respects, it much encreases the Value of both, especially for Earrings: He had seen several Pair valued at a thousand Ducats each; which, however, fell short of *Cleopatra's* two Pearls, one of which was valued at an hundred thousand Ducats; and yet that Queen had the Vanity, it seems, to beat one of them to Powder, and swallow it at a Draught, at a Supper she made for *Mark Anthony*: And the other, 'tis said, was cut in two, and hung in the Ears of the Image of *Venus* in the *Pantheon* at *Rome*. But, as they are more plentiful now, especially since the Discovery of *America*, there are none of near that Value at present; tho' they are not inferior to those the Ancients mention, in any respect but the Price.

Mexico.

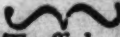


CHAP.



C H A P. XI.

Of the Traffick of Mexico; their Carriages, Inns, and way of Travelling.

Mexico.

 Traffick
 with Fo-
 reigners
 prohibited



THE People of *Mexico*, and the rest of the *Spanish West-Indies*, are prohibited trading with any but the Subjects of *Spain*; nor are Foreigners suffer'd to visit their Coasts, unless the *Affentists*, who furnish them with Slaves, and that under several Restrictions, as will be related hereafter.

Notwithstanding which, the Traffick of *Mexico* is one of the richest and most extensive in the World; for they trade with the *Philippine Islands* near the Coast of *China*, through the *South Sea*, or *Pacific Ocean*; with *Peru* and *Chili*, through the same Sea; and with *Old Spain* and the *Spanish Islands*, through the *North Sea* and *Atlantic Ocean*. They carry on also a Trade with our *Affentists*, or *South Sea Company*, under certain Limitations: All which Trades are held lawful. There is also a very considerable smuggling or clandestine Trade, carried on between the *Mexicans* and *Indians* on the one Side, and the *English*, *French* and *Dutch* on the other; which five Branches of their Trade I shall endeavour to give some Light into. H O

I shall first treat of their Traffick with the *Philippine Islands*, which are under the Dominion

nion of *Spain*, and lie between the 10th and the 20th Degrees of North Latitude, a little to the South-East of the Province of *Canton* in *China*, lying 140 Degrees of Longitude from *Mexico*; which, reckoning sixty Miles to a Degree, makes it eight thousand four hundred Miles from *Mexico* to *Manila*, the Capital of the *Philippine* Islands; and these the *Spaniards* sail in ten Weeks, or three Months, in going from *Mexico* to *Manila*, having a constant Trade-Wind from the North-East, and serene Weather in 10 or 12 Degrees of North Latitude, which they get into as soon as they can; and have scarce any Occasion to alter their Sails till they arrive at the *Ladrone* Islands, about four hundred Leagues short of the *Philippines*, where they touch, and take in Water and fresh Provisions: And in this Latitude the *South Sea* may well be stiled *PACIFIC*; for they scarce ever meet with any Storms or bad Weather all the Way: But it is not so in their Return from *Manila*, in the *Philippine* Islands, to the Port of *Acapulco* in *Mexico*. This is a Voyage of incredible Hazards and Hardships, which no Gain or Advantages would induce a wise Man to undertake twice; for, when they leave the *Philippines*, they are forced to abandon the pacific Part of this Ocean, and stand away to the North, till they come into 35, or perhaps 40 Degrees, before they can meet with westerly, or even variable Winds: And here they are toss'd with frequent Storms, and their Patience try'd by unconstant Weather. *Dampier* observes, that this Sea is very far from deserving the Name of the *Pacific Ocean*, after we have pass'd the Latitude of 30; and *Gemelli-Careri* assures us, it is the most tempestuous of all Seas. And yet this wide and tempestuous

Mexico.

Their Trade with the *Philippines* near *China*.

Fine sailing thither.

A tedious stormy Passage from the *Philippines* to *Mexico*.

Mexico.

Which it
was im-
possible to
perform
before the
Compass
was
known.

Ocean must have been pass'd by the *Chinese* and the *Asiatics*, if we suppose they sent Fleets and Colonies from thence to people *Mexico*, as some have fondly imagined. If the *Europeans*, now the Art of Ship-building and Navigation is so much improved, and they have the Compass to guide them, are six or seven Months passing from *Asia* to *America*, and that with infinite Labour and Hazard; can any one, that has ever seen the *China* Junks and *Asiatic* Shipping, and knows what poor Seamen they are even at this Day, suppose that ever any Fleets were sent from thence to *America*, in the early Ages, sufficient to people that Part of the World? Let any one but read *Gemelli's* Description of his Voyage on Board the *Spanish* Galeon from *Manila*, in the *Philippine* Islands, to *Acapulco* in *Mexico*, and he will need no Arguments to convince him, that *America* was never peopled by the *Chinese*, or any *Asiatic* Nation, by Sea; Some Particulars whereof I shall take the Liberty to recite.

Gemelli's
Account
of this
Voyage.

This Voyage, says *Gemelli*, from the *Philippine* Islands to *America*, may be looked upon as the longest and most dreadful of any in the World; as well because of the vast Ocean to be cross'd, being a third (almost half according to my Author) of the terraqueous Globe, with the Wind always a-head; as for the terrible Tempests that happen there one upon the back of another; and for the desperate Diseases that seize People, who are sometimes so exceeding cold, and then so excessive hot, that it is enough to destroy a Man made of Steel, much more Flesh and Blood, where they have such indifferent Food as sea-faring People feed on in long Voyages.

For

Mexico.

For this tedious Voyage, *Gemelli* assures us, they were forced to lay in a thousand Jars of Water: And, at their first setting out, which was the latter End of *June*, the Winds were so contrary, that they scarce sailed three Leagues in five Days; and the heavy Rains that fell at the same time, with the excessive Heat of the Climate, made the beginning of the Voyage very uncomfortable. Before they got clear of the *Philippines*, he says, Search was made to discover whether any of the Seamen or Passengers had filled their Jars with Merchandize instead of Water; and several being found filled with Pepper, China Ware, and other Goods, they were thrown into the Sea; and the Captain took in two hundred Jars of Water more; under such Apprehensions they were of being distress'd for Water in this tedious Voyage, where there is no Land in the Way to touch at.

The Spaniards, in sailing from the *Philippine* Islands to *America*, always take Advantage of the southerly Monsoon, which sets in in *May* or *June*, on the Coast of *China*, and blows till *September* or *October*; this carrying them as high as the Latitude of 30 North, where they begin to meet with variable Winds; it being very difficult for them to sail East, as the Trade-Wind is always in their Teeth under the Latitude of 30.

The South Monsoon sets them to the Northward.

Gemelli relates, that when they had sailed into this Latitude, the Weather became very tempestuous and cold; and that several Gallies have been cast away in that vast Ocean, between the 30th and 40th Degrees of North Latitude: That, in this Voyage he made from *Manila* to *Mexico*, the Wind was often contrary than fair, and they were very seldom free from

Mexico.
The
Hardships
they suf-
fer'd in
this Voy-
age.

Storms; besides which, they were forced to endure Hunger, Thirst, Cold, Sickness, and continual Watchings: That they were almost eat up with the Scurvy; their Biscuit was full of little Insects, and their Allowance of Water was scarce a Pint in a Day's Time: That, at length, all their Provisions grew naught, except their Chocolate and Sweetmeats; whereupon many of the Seamen, that wanted these, fell sick, and the rest suffer'd such Hardships, that they vow'd never to undertake the Voyage again: And yet the Seamen, when they arrived at the Port of *Acapulco* in *Mexico*, for the sake of getting three hundred seventy-five Pieces of Eight (four Shillings and Sixpence *English* each) which the King allows them for returning to *Manila*, seem'd to slight their past Sufferings, and went to the *Philippines* again, in the very same Ship. He adds, that it was the latter End of *January* before they arrived at their desired Port of *Acapulco* in *Mexico*, being about seven Months after they set Sail from *Manila*.

Seven
Months
without
Sight of
Land.

The Pas-
sage by
Land
from *Asia*
to *America*
impracti-
cable.

Thus much I thought was necessary to observe from *Gemelli*, who made this Voyage in the Year 1697, to shew the Length and Difficulty of the Passage from *Asia* to *America* at this Day: From whence we may infer, how impracticable, and even impossible, it was for the *Chinese*, or any other *Asiatic* Nation, to send Colonies to *America* by Sea; when Navigation was in its Infancy, and the Use of the Compass was not known. Nor do the Difficulties of their passing to *America* by Land, appear to me much less than those of their going thither by Sea: For, in the first place, there has been no Land yet discover'd between *Japan* and *California*, which are at least 80 Degrees

Degrees asunder; and, if there be any Land ^{Mexico.} within that Space, it lies probably so far North, that it is neither habitable or passable, or we should have heard of the Inhabitants by this Time. Besides, if it might be pass'd at one Time, it would have been so at another; and some People would have return'd from *America* to *Asia* by the same Way, in so long a Tract of Time as it is supposed that Part of the World has been peopled.

But, farther, I believe it will be admitted, by all that are conversant in History, that the Extremities of the North and South were peopled after that Part of the World that lies in the more temperate Climates; and that those Countries which lie nearest the *Poles* are, at this Day, and have ever been, more thinly inhabited than the temperate Part of the Earth. As to the *Scythians* of old, or the *Goths* and *Vandals* of later Days, these none of them dwelt so far to the North as the Natives of *Lapland*, *Samoieda*, and their Brethren of North-East *Tartary* (which some Men will have contiguous to *America*) do. And, if *America* was planted by Colonies that went by Land from the North-West or North-East Part of our Continent, it must be by a People that dwelt as far to the Northward as *Lapland* extends: Against which I have still more Objections than were mention'd in the Introduction; and, first, if *America* had been planted by People from the Extremity of the North, this must have happen'd so lately, and by such small Colonies, that those Countries could never have been so populous as the *Spaniards* found them. Every one knows, that *Lapland*, and all Countries in those cold Latitudes, are extremely thin of People: For one Man they have

Mexico. have there, we have an hundred at least here. How then can it be supposed, that they should plant one half of the Globe?

A farther Reason against the *Laplanders*, or any People dwelling so far North, planting *America*, is, that they were, and must be all cloathed; even their very Faces and Hands, in the Winter-Season, must be cloathed, or their Noses and Fingers would perish: For which reason the *Laplanders* are actually wrapped up in Furs from Head to Foot; whereas most of the *Americans* went naked almost when the *Spaniards* arrived there; and, I believe, there is scarce any Instance of a Nation, that had once worn Cloaths, leaving them quite off again. If they had not Occasion for warm Furs to cover them all over, when they descended to warmer Regions; yet it is not to be supposed they would have left off every Rag of Cloaths, and appeared without any, as many of the *Indians* did when the *Spaniards* arrived there.

Thirdly, Those northern People are the least polish'd, and have the meanest Capacities, of any thing in human Shape (the *Hottentots* not excepted;) whereas the *Americans* were famous for their excellent Parts and Genius, and several pretty Manufactures, as those of Feathers, Painting, &c. but, above all, for Carving and Architecture, which they perform'd to Admiration, without the Help of Iron Tools; far excellling any thing that was ever seen among the *Laplanders*; which makes it highly improbable they should derive their Origin from them. And why should we endeavour to break through so many Difficulties at last to people *America* from *Asia*, when there was so easy a way of doing it from *Africa* by Sea,
from

from whence the Winds always sit fair for *America*, and the Voyage is so short, that, considering the great Fleets the *Carthaginians* had on those Seas, it must have been a Miracle if several of their Ships had not been driven to *America*? Thus much I thought proper to add to my former Argument, That *America* was peopled from *Africa*, and not from *Asia*; which the Reader will excuse, when I had so fair an Opportunity of introducing it again, in speaking of the Commerce of the *Spaniards* between the *Philippine* Islands and *Mexico*. I proceed, in the next place, to give a farther Account of that Traffick.

It seems, the *Spaniards* employ but two Ships annually in this rich Trade; but then they are Ships of good Force, and usually eight hundred or a thousand Tons Burden. These Ships, according to *Dampier*, do not go together in Company, but make the Voyage alternately: One of them sets out from *Acapulco* in *Mexico* the latter End of *March*, or the Beginning of *April*, and arrives at *Manila* in the *Philippine* Islands some time in *June*; when the other is ready to sail from *Manila* to *Acapulco* in *Mexico*. This last Ship, says the same Writer, stretches away to the North, as far as 36, and sometimes into 40 Degrees of North Latitude, before she gets a Wind to *America*; and falls in first with the Coast of *California*, and then coasts along the Shore to the South again, never missing a Wind to bring her away from thence to *Acapulco*, where she usually arrives about *Christmas*.

The Cargo of this Ship consists of *Diamonds*, *Rubies*, *Sapphires*, and other precious Stones, found in the *East-Indies*; of *Cinnamon*, *Cloves*, *Mace*, *Nutrhegs*, and *Pepper*; of the rich *Car-*
pets

Mexico.

The Trade managed by two great Ships.

The Course they steer.

The Cargo of these Ships.

Mexico.

pets of *Persia*; the Camphire of *Borneo*; the Benjamin and Ivory of *Pegu* and *Cambadia*; the Silks, Mullins, and Calicoes of *East-India*; the Gold Dust, Tea, China-Ware, Silk, Cabinets, &c. of *China* and *Japan*. All which amount to a prodigious Value; this one Ship having more Riches in it than some whole Fleets.

The
Gains of
the Mer-
chants.

The Merchants, *Gemelli* relates, get an hundred and fifty or two hundred *per Cent.* by this Voyage. It was computed, the Pilot of the Ship he sailed in would make twenty thousand Pieces of Eight; his Mates nine thousand each; the Captain of the Galeon forty thousand; the Boatswain, who has the Privilege of taking several Bales of Goods on Board, gets an Estate in one Voyage; the Wages of every Sailor is three hundred and seventy Pieces of Eight; and the King's Duties of this one Ship amounted to fourscore thousand Pieces of Eight.

Trade
between
Mexico
and *Peru*.

At the Time this Ship arrives at *Acapulco* from *Manila*, there comes in two or three Ships from *Lima* in *Peru*, very little inferior to the former in Value, being laden with Silver, Quicksilver, Cacao Nuts, and other rich Merchandize of *South America*; with which they purchase the Merchandize of *Europe* and the *East-Indies*: For, in the Months of *January* and *February*, a great Fair is held at *Acapulco*; and a vast Concourse of Merchants come from *Mexico* to vend the Goods of *Europe*, and buy those of *China*, the *East-Indies*, and *Peru*. There are such Crowds of People at *Acapulco* at this time, that all Provisions are excessive dear, and a Negro-Porter will earn fourteen or fifteen Shillings a Day.

The

The Galeon from *Manila*, having sold all her Effects, takes in a new Cargo, chiefly of Silver, and returns in *April*, arriving at *Manila* again in the Month of *June*, where she finds the other Galeon ready to sail to *Acapulco*. In the mean time, the Ships of *Peru*, having furnish'd themselves with the Merchandize of *China*, the *East-Indies*, and *Europe*, return to *Lima*.

Mexico.
Silver carried from *Acapulco* to the *Philippines* and *China*

There is very little Traffick carried on by Sea on the Coast of *Mexico*; all Goods are carried from *Acapulco* to the City of *Mexico* by Mules and Pack-horses; and from thence to *Vera Cruz* on the *North Sea*, in like manner, in order to be shipped for *Europe*; which brings me to speak of the Trade between *Old Spain* and *Mexico*, or *New Spain*.

Little Coasting Trade in *Mexico*.

Thirty or forty Ships carry on all the Trade between *Old Spain* and the *Spanish* Dominions in *America*; and these are almost all of their own Vessels, no Trade being suffer'd to be carried on in Foreign Bottoms, except that of the *Assentists*, already mentioned. The Vessels used by the *Spaniards*, in transporting Merchandize from *Old Spain* to *America*, are generally large and of good Force, and called Galeons: They sail in Fleets annually from *Cadiz*, laden with the Goods of almost every Country on this Side the *Atlantic*; the Woollen Cloth and Stuffs of *England*, the Linnen and Lace of *Holland* and *Flanders*, the Silks of *Italy* and *France*, the Muslins, Silks and Calicoes of the *East-Indies*, with the Merchandize of *China*, *Turkey* and *Persia*, make up their Cargoes, which belong indeed to almost as many different Nations: At least the *English*, *Dutch*, *Italians*, and *French*, are Proprietors of great Part of their Cargo, and the *Spaniards*.

The Trade between *Old Spain* and *Mexico*.

Cargoes of the Galeons.

Belongs to Strangers.

Mexico.

ards in a great measure their Factors; for when the Galeons return from *America*, with the Treasure for which these Effects have been sold, it is most of it distributed amongst the Merchants and Factors of the four Nations last mention'd. But so true are the *Spaniards* to their Trust, 'tis said, that those in whose Names the Effects are sent over, and the Returns made, scarce ever abuse the Confidence that is placed in them, or betray their Principals: For the Reader will please to remember, that, by the Laws of *Spain*, no Stranger can, directly or indirectly, trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*, but he forfeits his Goods.

The Government
connive at
it.

However, it cannot be supposed but the Government of *Spain* is very well apprized that this Trade is in a manner carried on by Foreigners, and, for very good Reasons, connive at it: They know their own People are not able to freight these Fleets; and, if they were not enabled to do it by Foreigners, their *American* Dominions must want all manner of Necessaries almost for Cloathing and Furniture. Besides, there is no doubt, but the *Spanish* Merchants, Factors and Seafaring People have greater Advantages from these Effects passing through their Hands, as well as by exporting them; and the Revenues of the Crown must be vastly encreased by the Importation and Exportation of them, which alone is a sufficient Reason for their conniving at this Traffick, and encouraging of it: Tho' it must be confess'd, it would be much more for the Advantage of the Kingdom of *Spain*, to encourage Manufactures at home, and traffick a little more with the Product of their own Country. But, since they are not easily to be brought to this, the next best thing they can do is, to

turn

turn Factors and Carriers for their Neighbours, and supply their *American* Colonies with the Goods of Foreigners. Mexico.

The greatest part of the Galeons sail to *Carthagena* and *Porto Bello*, and are called the *Flota*; the other Part, called the *Flotilla*, or *Little Fleet*, sail to *Vera Cruz* in *Mexico*. The former sell their Merchandize chiefly at the Fair of *Porto Bello*, where they take on Board the Gold and Silver, and other rich Treasures, of *Peru* and *Chili*, in return for their Merchandize. The latter sell their Cargoes at the Fair of *Vera Cruz*; to which Place is brought the Gold and Silver of *Mexico*, with the Gold Dust, precious Stones, and other Treasures of *China* and the *East-Indies*; and with these the *Flotilla* is freighted, on its Return to *Europe*.

The Galeons, on their going out, sail to the South-West, and get into the Way of the Trade-Wind as soon as they can, which carries them into 11 or 12 Degrees of North Latitude; then, bending their Course directly West, they leave the *Caribbee* Islands on their Right, or Starboard-Quarter, and continue their Course to the Westward, till they arrive at *Rio de la Hacha*, where they come to an Anchor, and Expresses are immediately dispatched to *Carthagena*, *Panama*, *Porto Bello*, *Vera Cruz*, &c. to prepare the King's Treasure for the Galeons to take on Board at their Return. After which, the greatest part of the Fleet sails to *Carthagena* and *Porto Bello*, and the rest to *Vera Cruz*; the whole joining together usually, in their Return, at the *Havanna*, in the Island of *Cuba*; and, sailing from thence to *Spain* in Company, take a very different Course from that by which they came from The Course of the Galeons to America.

Mexico.

Europe; for in their Return they sail North through the Gulph of *Florida*, and continuing their Course to the North-East till they come into the Latitude of 36 or 40, where they meet with variable Winds: They then shape their Course as near to the East as the Winds will permit them, till they come upon the Coast of *Spain*; and are usually six or eight Weeks in their Passage. These Fleets, 'tis said, have sometimes brought home near the Value of sixty Millions of Pieces of Eight (amounting to twelve or fifteen Millions *Sterling*) in Gold and Silver only; of which the King has a Fifth, and great part of the Remainder is distributed among the Factors of the several trading Nations above-mention'd; the least Share perhaps coming to the Subjects of *Spain*.

Spain has the least Share of the Treasure.

Trade between the Continent and Islands by the *Barlavento* Fleet.

There is a Trade carried on also between *Mexico* and the *Spanish* Islands of *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*, and *Porto Rico*; as also between *Mexico* and *Terra-firma* in *South-America*, by the *Barlavento-Fleet*, so called from its surrounding the *Barlavento*, or *Leeward* Islands, annually.

This Fleet comes to *Vera Cruz* in *October* or *November*, and remains there till *March*. It consists of six or seven Sail of Ships, of good Burden and Force, that serve both as Men of War and Merchant-men; for they are order'd to visit all the *Spanish* Sea-ports in the *North* Sea every Year, as well to supply one Place with what another wants, as to prevent Foreigners trading in their Ports, and to clear the Sea of *Buccaneers* or *Pirates*. From *Vera Cruz* this Fleet sails to the *Havanna*, where they dispose of the Merchandize they bring from *Mexico*: After which, they stand to the Northward, through the Gulph of *Florida*, till they come into the Latitude of 30 or 40; then

then they stretch away to the South-East, till they make the Island of *Porto Rico*; and, having dispatch'd their Business there, they continue their Course to the Southward, till they arrive at the Island of the *Trinity*, near the Mouth of the River *Oronoke*, being the most easterly Settlement the *Spaniards* have in the *North Sea*: From thence the Fleet sails to *Margarita*, another considerable Island near the Main, coasting along to *Comana*, and so to *Caracas*; then they double *Cape La Vela*, and coast along by *Ria de la Hacha*, *St. Martha*, and *Carthagena*; on which Coast they frequently meet with *English* and *Dutch* Trading-Sloops, and make Prize of them: And, having staid some time at *Carthagena*, they proceed to *Porto Bello*; and, having visited the Bay of *Campeachy*, they return at length to *Vera Cruz* again. And this is the annual Navigation of the *Barlavento* Fleet about the Coast of the *Spanish West-Indies* in the *North Sea*, as well on account of their Trade, as to drive all Foreigners from their Coasts; which, however, they are not able to effect entirely. And this brings me to say something of the smuggling or clandestine Trade that is carried on between the *English*, *French* and *Dutch*, and the *Spanish West-Indies*.

I have already taken notice, that the *Spaniards* do not send more than thirty or forty Ships annually from *Old Spain* to their Territories in *America*, with the Produce and Merchandize of *Europe*; which is far from being sufficient to supply their extensive Dominions in that new World. Indeed, most part of the Merchandize carried over in the Galeons is sold at the Fair of *Porto Bello*, and bought up at extravagant Rates, to be transported again

A clandestine or smuggling Trade.

Mexico. again by the *South Sea* to *Peru*; so that many of the *Spanish* Provinces upon the *North Sea* would be destitute of necessary Cloathing and Furniture, and even Provisions for their Tables, if they were not supplied with them by Foreigners. The *English* therefore from *New-England*, *New-York*, *Jamaica*, &c. the *French* from *Hispaniola*, and the *Dutch* from *Curassaw*, fit out Sloops, with all manner of Provisions and Necessaries, which they know are wanting on the Coast of *Mexico*, in order to trade with the *Mexican Spaniards*, who are no less ready to receive the Goods of these Foreigners, than they are to sell them, giving Pieces of Eight for what they buy; which makes this a very beneficial Trade to the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*. But then, if the *Barlavento* Fleet, or the *Spanish Guarda de Costa's*, meet with such Trading-Sloops and Vessels, they never fail to make them all Prize; and sometimes seize on Ships that have never been concerned in this clandestine Trade on Suspicion, and, finding Pieces of Eight on Board, have frequently procured them to be condemned; which has been the Occasion of those many Complaints our Merchants have made of the *Spanish Guarda de Costa's*, to the Parliament and Board of Trade; and which it is high time was settled, that our Trade and Navigation in the *West-Indies* may not be interrupted, and the fair Trader brought under such Hardships as may discourage him from carrying on a Trade to our Plantations, which is, of all others, the most advantageous to *Britain*.

The *Spaniards* take our fair Traders as well as Smugglers

Logwood Trade.

There has been another Trade or Business carried on by the *English* in *North America*, which has occasion'd many Disputes between the two Nations of *Britain* and *Spain*, and is not

not yet adjusted; and that is, the Business of Mexico. Logwood-cutting in the Bay of Campeachy. This the *English* had follow'd, in a Part of the Country destitute of *Spanish* or *Indian* Inhabitants, for a great many Years; and look'd upon it, that their long Possession had given them at least as good a Right to that Part of the Country, as the *Spaniards* had to any of the rest: And in some Treaties the *Spaniards* seem to have yielded this Business to the *English*. However, they have thought fit, of late Years, to fall upon our Logwood-cutters, killed many of them, and carried the rest into perpetual Imprisonment, not suffering them to be exchanged or ransomed. And thus have we been driven violently and unjustly from a very valuable Branch of Business, under pretence that because the *Spaniards* had forcibly settled themselves in one Part of the Continent, no other Nation had any Right to settle in another Part of it: A Rule, that we find the *French* are too wise and too brave to submit to. The *Spaniards*, indeed, the first of all *Europeans*, discover'd and sent Colonies to *America*, and particularly to *Florida*; and yet we find the *French* make no Scruple of settling in the Heart of that Country, and even in the Neighbourhood of the *Spanish* Settlements of *New Mexico*: Nay, after the *Spaniards* had been two hundred Years in Possession of the Island of *Hispaniola*, the *French* took the Liberty of making very considerable Settlements in it; for this very good Reason, That the *Spaniards* were not able to cultivate or people a tenth Part of what they claimed in *America*; and it was highly unreasonable, that Countries of a vast Extent should remain uninhabited and uncultivated, only because the *Spaniards* were pleased to set up a

Title

Mexico, Title to them. And this sort of reasoning the *Spaniards* seem to allow of, by their neglecting to drive the *French* either from *Florida* or *Hispaniola*. While, on the other hand, our tame *Britons* are so extremely condescending, as to suffer the *Spaniards* to drive them from the Logwood Trade in the Bay of *Campeachy*, which has been yielded to them by several Treaties; and would frighten us also from extending our Plantations in *Carolina*, *Virginia*, &c. farther to the Westward, tho' we do it with the Consent of the Natives, only because they (the *Spaniards*) have the little Forts of *St. Augustin* and *St. Matthew* a little to the Southward of us.

The *British* Subjects have the best Title to extend their Settlements in *Florida*.

But, surely, if the *French* are permitted to settle in *Florida*, much more ought the *English*, who have so long been in Possession of *Virginia* and *Carolina* (Parts of *Florida*) and made such considerable Improvements there, with the Approbation of the Natives, who alone have a Right of transferring their Country to Foreigners. And, I hope, neither *French* or *Spanish* Assurance will ever prevail on our Governors to discourage the *British* Subjects extending their Trade or Settlements to the Westward, even through that Part of *Florida* which the *French* have denominated *Louisiana*, and to the very Banks of the famous River *Mississippi*; since we are at present at Peace and in Alliance with most of the Nations that lie between *Virginia* and *Carolina* and that River; and actually traffick with them more than either the *French* or *Spaniards* yet do.

The Trade of the *English* by virtue of the *Assiento*.

I proceed now to another Branch of Trade; namely, that which the *English* are entitled to carry on with the *Spanish* Dominions in *America*, by virtue of the *Assiento* Contract made between

between the two Nations in the Year 1713, ^{Mexico.}
 and entitled, *The ASSIENTO adjusted between* ^{The Title.}
their Britannick and Catholick Majesties, for
the English Company's obliging itself to supply
the Spanish West-Indies with black Slaves for
the Term of thirty Years, to commence on the
1st Day of May 1713, and to end the 1st of
May 1743.

The Preamble of this Contract recites, that Preamble.
 the *French Guinea* Company had formerly en-
 joy'd the Benefit of the *Assiento*; and that their
 Term being expired, his *Catholick* Majesty
 had determined to grant the same to the *Eng-*
lish Company.

ART. I. By the first Article, her *British*
 Majesty undertakes, for the Persons whom she
 should appoint *Assientists*, that they shall export
 to the *Spanish West-Indies*, within the said
 Space of thirty Years, one hundred forty-four
 thousand Negroes, viz. four thousand eight
 hundred Negroes in each of the said thirty
 Years.

II. That for each Negro, of the regular
 Standard of seven Quarters, neither old or de-
 fective, the *Assientists* shall pay to the Crown
 of *Spain* thirty-three Pieces of Eight (*Escudo's*)
 and one Third of a Piece of Eight; in which
 Sum shall be comprehended all manner of
 Duties.

III. That the *Assientists* shall advance to his
 Catholick Majesty two hundred thousand Pie-
 ces of Eight, which shall not be reimbursed
 before the End of twenty Years; and then it
 may be deducted, by equal Portions, in the
 ten last remaining Years, after the Rate of
 twenty thousand Pieces of Eight yearly, out of
 the Produce of the Duty on Negroes, which
 they are to pay in those Years.

Mexico.

IV. The *Affientists* shall pay the said Duties half-yearly.

V. It is declared, that the *Affientists* shall not be obliged to pay the said Duties for more than four thousand Negroes yearly; the Duties payable for the remaining eight hundred being given to the *Affientists*, in Consideration of the Interest that ought to be paid them for the Money to be advanced as aforesaid.

VI. That the *Affientists*, if they find a Demand for more Negroes, may import a greater Number than four thousand eight hundred during the first twenty-five Years; for which supernumerary Negroes they shall pay no more than sixteen Pieces of Eight, and two Thirds of a Piece of Eight for each Negro.

VII. That the *Affientists* may employ either *British* or *Spanish* Ships in this Commerce, provided that neither the Commanders or Seamen give any Offence or Scandal to the *Roman* Catholick Religion, on pain of being punish'd, as they would have been in *Spain* for the like Misdemeanors.

VIII. That the *Affientists* may import and vend the said Negroes in all the Ports of the *North* Sea, and that of *Buenos Ayres*, at their Choice, provided they do not import or land any Negro, except in Ports where there are Royal Officers to search the Ships and their Cargoes, and certify the Numbers of Negroes imported. And it is farther provided, that the Negroes which are carried to the Windward Coast, viz. *Sancta Mariba*, *Cumana*, and *Maracaybo*, shall not be sold by the *Affientists* for more than three hundred Pieces of Eight each, to encourage the Inhabitants of those Places to buy them. But as to the other Ports of *New Spain*, its Islands and *Terra-firma*, the *Affientists*

Assientists are at Liberty to sell their Negroes there for the best Prices they can get. Mexico.

IX. That the *Assientists* shall be at Liberty to import into the River *Plata*, or *Buenos Ayres*, in four Ships, twelve hundred of the said Negroes annually, and to sell them at such Prices there as they can get; eight hundred of which shall be disposed of at *Buenos Ayres*, and the remaining four hundred serve in the Provinces higher up the River, and in the Kingdom of *Cbili*. And it is declared, that her *British* Majesty, and the *Assientists* in her Name, may hold some Parcels of Land, to be assign'd them by his Catholick Majesty, in the River *Plata*, from the Commencement of this *Assiento*, sufficient to plant, cultivate, and breed Cattle upon, for the Subsistence of the Persons belonging to the *Assiento* and their Negroes; and may build Houses of Timber only, but shall not throw up the Earth, or make the slightest Fortification: And his Catholick Majesty shall appoint an Officer to reside there, who shall have the Command of all Things relating to such Lands; and all other Matters, concerning the *Assiento*, shall be determined by the Governor and Royal Officers at *Buenos Ayres*: But the *Assientists* shall not be obliged to pay any Duties on account of the said Lands.

X. In order to the carrying of black Slaves into the Provinces of the *South Sea*, Liberty is granted to the *Assientists* to freight, either at *Panama*, or any other Port of the *South Sea*, Ships of about four hundred Tons each, to be navigated by such Officers and Seamen as the *Assientists* shall appoint; on Board of which they may ship Negroes to all the other Ports of *Peru* (and no others on that Side) and to

Mexico.

bring back the Produce of their Sale to the said Port of *Panama*, as well in the Fruits of the Country, as in Money, Bars of Silver, or Ingots of Gold, without being obliged to pay any Duties for such Silver or Gold, it being stamp'd, and appearing to be the Produce of their Negroes. And the said *Affientists* are at Liberty to send from *Europe* to *Porto Bello*, and from *Porto Bello* to *Panama*, by the River *Chagre*, or by Land-Carriage, Cables, Sails, Timber, and all other Naval Stores and Provisions necessary for the said Ships; provided they do not sell the said Stores, on any pretence whatsoever, on pain of Confiscation, and farther Punishments to be inflicted both on the Buyers and Sellers; and the *Affientists*, from that Time, to be deprived of the Privilege of sending such Stores to the *South Sea*: Nor shall the *Affientists*, at the End of the said Term of thirty Years, be allow'd to carry the said Ships to *Europe*.

XI. The *Affientists* are at Liberty to employ *English* or *Spaniards* for the Management of this *Affiento*, as well in the Ports of *America*, as in the Inland Country; and the *English* shall be regarded and treated as the Subjects of *Spain*, provided there do not reside in any one Port more than four or six *Englishmen*, of whom they may send some into the Countries where Negroes are allow'd to be carried, for the Management and Recovery of their Effects.

XII. By this Article two *English* Ships of War, and another Vessel, are permitted to carry over the Company's Factors to *America*.

XIII. The *Affientists* are allow'd, by this Article, to nominate Judges-Conservators of the

the *Affiento*, in all the Ports and chief Places Mexico.
of *America*, provided they nominate some of
his Catholick Majesty's Ministers; which said
Judges are to have Cognizance of all Causes
relating to the *Affiento*, exclusive of all Audi-
ences, Tribunals, Governors, or Viceroy's, who
are prohibited to intermeddle therein; and no
Appeal to lie from the Judges of the *Affiento*,
but to the supreme Council of the *Indies*; and
the President, Governor, or Dean of the said
Council, is to be Protector of this *Affiento*.

XIV. No Embargo shall be laid on the
Ships of the *Affientists* by the Viceroy's, or other
Spanish Governors in *America*, for any Cause
or Pretence whatever; but, on the contrary,
they shall afford the said *Affientists* all the Fa-
vour, Assistance and Succour they or their
Factors shall desire, for the more speedy fitting
out, lading and dispatching their Ships; af-
fording them such Provisions as they shall want
for their Voyages, at the current Prices, on
pain of being obliged, at their own Costs, to
make good all such Damages as the *Affientists*
shall sustain by such Impediment or Detention.

XV. Nor shall any Embargo be laid on
the Stock, Goods or Effects of the *Affientists*,
or any of them seiz'd or detain'd by any Vice-
roy, Governor, Judge, or Officer, on any
Cause or Motive whatever, on pain of their
being punish'd, and paying, out of their own
Estates, the Damages and Losses the *Affientists*
shall sustain; nor are the Houses or Ware-
houses of their Factors to be search'd, unless it
is proved there has been some fraudulent Im-
portation; and then they are not to be search'd
but by the Assistance of the Judge-Conserva-
tor: And tho' prohibited Goods may be seiz'd,
the

Mexico.

the Stock and Effects of the *Affientists* are to remain free.

XVI. The *Affientists* are empower'd to employ such Mariners, Carriers, and Workmen, in lading and unlading their Ships, as they think fit.

XVII. They are permitted to bring their Goods from *America*, either in the Galeons or their own Ships, without paying any Duties; but they are not allow'd to bring over *Spanish* Passengers, or the Effects of the *Spaniards*.

XVIII. During this *Affiento*, neither the *French Guinea Company*, nor any other Persons, shall transport Negroes to *Spanish America*, but the *Affientists*, on pain of forfeiting such Negroes to the *Affientists*, who are empower'd to search such Ships as they suspect are freighted with Negroes, and make Prize of them, if any Contraband Negroes are found on Board; provided they first obtain Leave of the Governor of the Port.

XIX. The *Affientists* shall have Power to navigate and import Negroes to all the Northern Ports of the *Spanish West-Indies*, and all others are prohibited to import them; his Catholic Majesty obliging himself, by his Faith and Royal Word, to maintain the *Affientists* in the entire and full Possession thereof.

XX. And if the *Affientists* shall be molested or disturbed by Suits of Law, or in any other manner, his Majesty will inhibit all other Courts to proceed therein, and take Cognizance of such Causes solely himself.

XXI. When the Ships of the *Affientists* arrive at any Port of the *Indies* with Negroes, the Captains thereof shall certify, that there is not any contagious Distemper amongst them, before they shall be permitted to land.

XXII. Their

XXII. Their Ships shall be visited and Mexico. searched on their Arrival; and if any Merchandize be found, besides the Negroes, and Provisions for them, it shall be confiscated, and the Officers importing it shall be disabled to serve in the *Affiento*; and the Captain or Master of the Ship, that suffers such Goods to be brought on Board, shall forfeit the Value of them; and if he appear an Accomplice, he shall be condemn'd to pay a Forfeiture, be severely punish'd, and disabled to hold any Employment in the Service of the *Affiento*: But the Ships, on Board which such Negroes shall be, or the Provisions brought for their Subsistence, shall not be forfeited; and the Persons who have the Charge of them may go on with their Traffick. And if it appears the Captain or Master was not an Accomplice, he shall be obliged to deliver up the guilty Person, but be free himself.

XXIII. The Provisions put on Shore for the Subsistence of the Negroes shall pay no Duties.

XXIV. The *Affentists* are obliged to pay the Duties for all the Negroes landed, tho' they die before they are sold: But where the Factor desires a Negro may be set on Shore, only for the Recovery of his Health, and not for Sale, they shall not be obliged to pay the Duty for him, unless he live more than fifteen Days on Shore.

XXV. After the *Affentists*, or their Factors, have settled the Duties, and sold part of their Negroes in one Port, they may carry the remainder of their Negroes to any other Port, together with their Merchandize and Treasure for which they have sold the first, without being obliged to pay any Duties, except the com-

Mexico. mon Duties for the Fruits and Merchandize of the Country, which they are permitted to receive in Exchange for their Slaves, where Money is wanting; and they may sell such Fruits and Effects at the Ports they go to, paying the accustom'd Duties for them.

XXVI. The Ships of the *Affientists* may sail either from the Ports of *Great Britain* or *Spain*; but an Account shall be given to his Catholick Majesty of what Ships they dispatch yearly for the Negro-Trade, and the Ports for which they are design'd: After which, they are at Liberty to return, either with Money, Bars of Silver, Gold, Fruits, or the Merchandize of the Country, being the Produce of the Sale of their Negroes. But if they return to the Ports of *Spain*, the Commander of the Ship shall give that Court an authentick Register, by which it may appear what he hath on Board: And if the Ship return to *Britain*, an exact Account shall be sent to *Spain* of their Lading, that his Catholick Majesty may be fully inform'd thereof; provided that the *Affientists* shall not bring over any other Silver, Gold, or Effects, but what shall be the Produce of the Sale of the Negroes.

XXVII. By this Article, all Prizes taken in Time of War by the *Affientists*, on the Coasts of *Spanish America*, are to be carried to *Cartagena*, or *Porto Bello*, and the Goods sold by the King's Officers at the Fair of *Porto Bello*; three Fourths of the Produce whereof, after Duties paid, to be enjoy'd by the Captors (together with the Ship, Tackle, Guns, and Furniture;) and the other Fourth by his Catholick Majesty.

XXVIII. Their *British* and Catholick Majesties are each of them to have a fourth Part

of

of the Profits arising by this Contract. And, ^{Mexico.} as his Catholick Majesty ought to advance one Million of Pieces of Eight, or a Quarter of the Sum adjudged necessary to carry on this Trade, it is agreed, That if his Catholick Majesty shall not think fit to advance the said Sum, the *Affientists* shall do it out of their own Money, on condition his Majesty shall discharge the Interest (out of what they shall be accountable to him for) after the Rate of eight *per Cent. per annum*, till they are reimbursed: And his Catholick Majesty is to name two Directors or Factors to reside at *London*, two more in the *Indies*, and one at *Cadiz*; who may be concerned, on his Part, in all the Directions, Purchases, and Accounts of this *Affiento*.

XXIX. The *Affientists* shall give in an Account of their Profits and Gain, upon Oath, at the End of the first five Years; and, by legal Instruments, certify the Charge of the Purchase, Subsistence, Transportation, and Sale of the Negroes, and all other Expences on their Account; and also Certificates of the Produce of the Sale in all the Ports and Parts of *Spanish America*: Which Accounts shall be examined in the respective Courts of *Great Britain* and *Spain*. And the said *Affientists* shall pay his Catholick Majesty's Share of the said Profits regularly and punctually.

XXX. If the Amount of the Gain made the first five Years exceed the Sum the *Affientists* are to advance, together with the said Interest of eight *per Cent.* they may reimburse themselves in the first place, and then pay his Catholick Majesty the remainder of the Profits of his Share: And this they shall do every five Years during the Term.

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Mexico.

XXXI. The *Affientists*, after five Years, also may reimburse themselves the Quarterpart and the Interest, if they appear then to be Gainers.

XXXII. The *Affientists* shall be allow'd three Years, after the Expiration of their Term of thirty Years, to adjust their Accompts, and gather in their Effects in the *Spanish West-Indies*.

XXXIII. The Debtors to the *Affientists* shall be compelled to pay their Debts, and the said Debts be consider'd on the same Foot as those due to his Catholick Majesty.

XXXIV. The *Affientists* shall be allow'd, from Time to Time, to bring from *Europe*, or the *British* Plantations in *America*, to the Ports of *Spanish America*, where there shall be Royal Officers, Cloathing, Medicines, Provisions, and Naval Stores, for the Use only of the *Affientists*, their Negroes, Factors, Servants, Mariners, and Ships, in Vessels of about one hundred and fifty Tons; giving a particular Account of their Cargoes, and the Disposal thereof, to the Council of the *Indies*.

XXXV. For preserving the Health of the Negroes, the Factors of the *Affiento* are allowed to hire Parcels of Land in the Neighbourhood of their Factories, and to cultivate and plant the same, for raising fresh Provisions; provided such Cultivation be performed by the Inhabitants, or by the Negroes.

XXXVI. The *Affientists* are allow'd to load a Ship of three hundred Tons, at the *Canary* Islands, with such Fruits as are usually taken on Board there for *America*, once only during the said Term.

XXXVII. This has nothing material in it that is not contain'd in the former Articles.

XXXVIII. A

XXXVIII. A Junta of three *Spanish* Ministers, the Fiscal, and Secretary of the Council of the *Indies*, shall take Cognizance of all Causes relating to the *Assiento*. Mexico.

XXXIX. The Concessions in former *Assiento's* to *Portugal* or *France*, not contrary to the Contents of this, shall be construed in Favour of the present, as if literally inserted.

XL. In case of a War between *Britain* and *Spain*, the *Assiento* shall be suspended: However, the *Assientists* shall be allow'd a Year and half to remove their Effects.

XLI. All Laws in the *Spanish West-Indies*, prohibiting Traffick with Foreigners, &c. to be suspended, in Favour of the *Assientists*, for thirty Years.

XLII. His Catholick Majesty grants to the *Assientists* all Favours, Privileges, and Exemptions, that were ever granted to former *Assientists*, not contrary to these Articles.

His Catholick Majesty also, on condition that the *Assientists* shall not carry on any unlawful or clandestine Trade, on any pretence whatsoever, grants them the Privilege of sending out a Ship of five hundred Tons annually, to trade to the *Indies*; provided they give his Majesty a fourth Part of the Gain, and five per Cent. out of the Gain of the other three Parts: And it is farther provided, that the *Assientists* shall not sell their Merchandize, but at the Fair of *Porto Bello* only, when the *Galleons* arrive there; and then the Merchandize or Cargo of the said Ship shall be free from all Duties in the *Indies*. An annual Ship granted to the *Assientists*.

The late Queen *Anne* afterwards transferred to the *South Sea Company* the Benefit of the *Assiento* Contract, and granted them her fourth

Mexico.

Qu. Anne
transfers
the *Affien-*
to to the
South-Sea
Company,
and her
fourth of
the Profits.

Nothing
got by our
Traffick
with *Spa-*
nish Ame-
rica.

The *Affi-*
ento, &c.
Sources of
endless
Strife.

Share of the Profits arising by that Commerce; and yet I don't perceive that Company have reaped any Advantage from it; for Sir *John Eyles*, in a Speech to the Company, in the Year 1731, giving them an Account of this Branch of their Trade between the Year 1721 and that Time, says, Tho' the Report of their having lost two Millions, by this Trade was not true; yet such were the Misfortunes they had undergone in the Course of that Commerce, their Effects in the *Indies* having been twice seiz'd on those Misunderstandings with *Spain* in the Years 1718 and 1727, they had gain'd little by it, tho' they were not out of Pocket: That, upon the Treaties of Accommodation, Restitutions had been order'd, and in a good measure complied with; yet were those Interruptions of their Commerce attended with great Losses, the Expences of their Factories having been as great under those long Suspensions of Trade, as while it was carried on.

Then he mentions the Frauds of the Captain of their annual Ship the Prince *William*, who took in an hundred and fifty Ton of Goods at *St. Christopher's*, Outward-bound, in Breach of the *Affiento* Contract; which had very much embarrass'd their Affairs with *Spain*: And, indeed, such have been the Misunderstandings between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, ever since the Peace of *Utrecht*, whereby the *Spaniards* yielded *Gibraltar* and *Port Mabon* to this Crown, and let us into the Traffick of the *Spanish West-Indies*, that we have been great Sufferers in our Commerce in general with that Nation of late, and seem in a manner to have lost the Affections of that People. The *Spaniards* were under a Necessity of clapping up a Peace in the Year 1713, and compelled

compelled to yield to such Terms as we thought Mexico fit to impose on them at that Time: But it is evident, they had no Intention totally to relinquish those important Fortresses, or acquiesce long in our trading with their *American* Plantations, by the repeated Attempts they have made to drive us from both; nor will they ever be hearty Friends with this Nation, probably, as long as we insist on the Performance of those Articles.

There is no doubt, but the *Assiento*, consider'd in itself, would be very advantageous to *Britain*: We send little, besides our own Manufactures, to *Guinea*, to purchase those Negroes which we exchange with the *Spaniards* for Gold and Silver: The annual Ship also goes to *Porto Bello* laden chiefly with *British* Merchandize, for which she receives the Treasures of *Peru* and *Mexico* in return. But still, if the *French* and other Nations run away with the other Branches of the *Spanish* Trade, and we must ever remain in a State of Hostility with that Nation, whose Friendship is of such Importance to us (while we insist on those Advantages we stipulated for at the Treaty of *Utrecht*) it were better we had never insisted on them; better we had never possess'd *Gibraltar*, or traded with the *Spanish West-Indies*, if this should provoke that People to throw themselves into the Arms of the *French*, and enter into a Confederacy against us: For this may not only embarrass our Affairs in *Europe*, but contribute more to the Ruin of our Plantation-Trade in *America*, than any thing that has hitherto happen'd. No doubt, it is the Interest of *Spain*, as well as *Britain*, to prevent the *French* being too powerful in *America*; but if the *Spaniards* should, through Pique and
Resentment,

Mexico. *Resentment, connive at the Encroachments of France in Florida, and other Parts of the West-Indies, both we and they may, too late, repent there were any Misunderstandings between us; and that we did not, in Time, consider our common Interests, and oppose their establishing themselves in the Neighbourhood of our Settlements.*

The Mexican Carriages and way of Travelling.

I shall conclude this Head with the *Mexican* Carriages and way of Travelling. It seems, the Country is so mountainous, that in their Inland Traffick they use scarce any Waggons or Wheel-Carriages; but all Merchandize is carried on Mules or Pack-horses from one Province to another; and, before the *Spaniards* transported Mules and Horses thither, all Burdens were carried to the most distant Places on the Backs of *Tamenes*, or Porters. Their Princes and great Men were carried also on Men's Shoulders, lying or sitting on a kind of Couch, with a Canopy over it, not much unlike the *Palankins* in which People are carried in the *East-Indies* at this Day. There were no Beasts fit for Draught or Burdens in the Country. Indeed Coaches are in Use at *Mexico*, and in some other great Towns, at present; but it is impracticable travelling long Journeys over their Mountains in Coaches; and therefore they generally ride on Mules in the hilly Parts of the Country, and on Horses in the Plains.

Their Inns.

They have some few Inns upon their Roads, but usually miserable Houses, and destitute of tolerable Provisions, if we may credit *Gemelli Careri*; and they are such a distance from each other in some Places, that Travellers are glad to take up their Lodging under Trees and poor Huts, where they suffer pretty much from

from the Snows and excessive Cold on the Mexico. Mountains, as they do from the sultry Heat and Dust in their Valleys, unless in the rainy Season, when most of the plain Country is cover'd with Water, and every little Brook a Torrent: But travelling in that Season is almost impracticable in the Provinces of *Mexico*.





C H A P. XII.

*Of the History and Government of the
ancient Mexicans.*

Mexico.



BEFORE I treat of the Government of modern *Mexico*, it may be proper to enquire into the History and Government of its ancient Inhabitants; and of these Particulars, Father *Acosta*, who resided a considerable Time in the *Spanish West-Indies*, and wrote the Natural and Moral History of that Country, in the sixteenth Century, hath given us the best Account. Indeed all the rest of the Histories I have met with, relating to the Original and Antiquities of the People of *Mexico*, seem to be chiefly Copies and Transcripts from that Author; and particularly that of *Gemelli Careri's*, who acknowledges himself obliged to him for this Part of his History: And *Antonio de Herera* seems to have used great Freedom with him, finding *Acosta's* Account supported by the concurrent Relations of the best Writers of those Times.

The first
Inhabitants of
Mexico.

Acosta relates, that, according to the Traditions of the *Mexicans*, that Country was first inhabited by a wild and barbarous People, who went perfectly naked, lived on the Game they took in hunting, and on Fruits and Roots; never planting or manuring the Ground: That they dwelt in Caves of the Rocks and Mountains,

tains, or under Trees; building no Houses, nor associating together in Communities, having scarce any Religion or Government amongst them: And assures us, there were some such People that inhabited the Mountains of *Mexico* in his Time, being called *Cibchemecas* and *Otomies*, from their savage way of Life.

The next People that possess'd this Country were the *Navatlacas*, who give no other Account of their Original, but that they came out of seven Caves. These were seven Nations, or rather Tribes, that anciently dwelt between the 30th and 40th Degrees of Northern Latitude; but, about the Year 820, began to remove to the Southward, and possess themselves of that Country, now denominated *Mexico*, or *New Spain*, which they did very gradually; for they did not move all together, only one Tribe at a time; and that so leisurely, planting Colonies by the Way, that it was the Year 900, according to our Computation, that the first Tribe, called the *Suchimilcans* (or *Gardiners of Flowers*) fix'd themselves on the South Bank of the Lake of *Mexico*, founding a City there, and calling it after their own Name.

The second Nation that possess'd *Mexico*, consisting of seven Tribes.

1. The Tribe of *Suchimilcans*.

The second Tribe were the *Chalci*, who quitted their first Seats a great while after the *Suchimilcans*, and, arriving on the Banks of the Lake of *Mexico*, fix'd themselves next to them, and built a City, calling the Name of it *Chalcas*.

2. Of the *Chalci*.

The third Tribe, called the *Tapeneca's*, or *People of the Bridge*, came next to the Lake of *Mexico*, and inhabited the West-side, building a City there, and calling the Name of it *Acapazulco*, or *Ants-Nests*, from their multiplying so fast. And the fourth Tribe, called *Culhua*,

3. The *Tapeneca's*.

4. The *Culhua's*.

Mexico:

or the *People of the Bending Mountains*, from whence they came, planted the East-side of the Lake, and built the City of *Tescuco*.

5. *Tlatel-
vica's.*

The fifth Tribe were the *Tlatelvica's*, who, finding all the Lands possess'd about the Lake, continued their March over the Mountains, and possess'd themselves of the Valley of *Quernavaca*, or *Eagle Valley*; where they built a City, and gave it the same Name. And the

6. *Flascal-
teca's.*

sixth Tribe, called the *Flascalteca's*, went still farther, and possess'd themselves of *Flascala*, or the *Country of Bread-Corn*, so denominated from its Fruitfulness: And here, it is pretended, they met with a Race of Giants, who for some time defended their Country against the New-comers; but were, at length, driven to the Mountains and inaccessible Parts of the Country, as the rest of the *Chicbemeca's* and *Ottomies* had been by the other Tribes.

7. The
Mexicans.

Three hundred and two Years after the *Peregrination* of the first Tribe, according to *Acosta*, the seventh Tribe, called *Mexicans*, from their Leader *Mexi*, set forward towards the South, to find new Seats; being told, as 'tis said, by their God *Vitzilipaztli* (or his Priests) that they should obtain the Dominion of all the Tribes that went before them, and possess a Country abounding in Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, Feathers and rich Mantles. To which Prophecy they gave such Credit, that they began their March, carrying the Image of their God with them in a Chest, or Ark, on the Shoulders of four of their chief Priests; to whom, says *Acosta*, their God revealed what Way they should take, and what Accidents they should meet with. By these Priests also he gave them Laws, instructed them how they should offer Sacrifices to him, and

and in the other Rites of Religious Worship : Mexico.
Nor did they ever remove their Camp, but by the Command of their God ; the Priests directed when they should decamp, and how long they should remain in any Place. And the first thing they did, wherever they came, was to erect a Tabernacle in the midst of their Camp, for the Ark to rest in upon an Altar : And they continued their Wandrings for many Years before they came to the promis'd Land. Thus did the Prince of Darkness, says *Acosta*, in all Things, make these People imitate the Children of *Israel* in their March from *Egypt* to the Land of *Canaan*.

This Tribe of *Mexicans*, like the former, made several long Halts, remaining a great while in many Places, building Towns, and cultivating the Ground, and, when they removed, left Colonies of their People behind them, till they came to *Mechoacan*, or the Land of *Fish* ; where they would have set up their rest, but their God appeared angry with them, and killed many of the *Mexicans* in one Night, for presuming to stay here : Whereupon they proceeded to the Lake of *Mexico* ; and, the Lands about it being possess'd by the former Tribes, they, partly by Force, and partly by Treaty, obtained Leave to settle on some Islands in the Lake, agreeing to pay a certain Tribute for what they were permitted to possess. Soon after, the *Mexican* Priests inform'd their People, that their God *Vitzlipuzili* had appeared to them in a Dream, and commanded the *Mexicans* to fix themselves in that Part of the Lake where they should find an Eagle perching on a Fig-tree that was rooted in a Rock ; which they immediately went in Search of, and found a Fig-tree grow-

Mexico.

Mexico
built.

ing out of a Rock, and on it a most beautiful Eagle, looking at the Sun, with her Wings display'd, and holding a little Bird in her Talons: Upon the Sight of which, they all fell down, and worshipped the Eagle; and afterwards built a City on the very Spot, to which they gave the Name of *Tenochtitlan*, or the *Fig-tree on a Rock*; and the Arms of the City (which afterwards obtained the Name of *Mexico*, from their first Leader) were an Eagle, with her Wings display'd, looking on the Sun, holding a Snake in her Talons, and standing with one Foot on the Branch of an *Indian Fig-tree*; to which the Emperor *Charles* the fifth added a Castle Or, on a Field *Azure*, to express the Lake, with a Bridge over it, and two others on the Sides, on which are two Lions Rampant.

The *Mexicans*, having first erected a Tabernacle in the midst of the Rock, or Island, for their God *Vitziliputzli*, then, by the Priests Direction, laid out the four Quarters, or Wards, of their Town, which now go by the Names of *St. John*, *St. Mary Rotunda*, *St. Paul*, and *St. Sebastian*; every Ward having its tutelar Deity, or Guardian, assign'd to it; as had also every one of the Subdivisions of the several Wards.

First King
of the
Mexicans,
Acama-
pixtli.

The *Mexican* Chiefs afterwards falling into Parties and Factions, and being at the same time insulted and oppress'd by the other Tribes, to prevent the Ruin that threaten'd them, resolv'd to elect a King, that might have the Government of their State, and send them out to War; and, not being able to agree upon any one of their own Tribe, they made Choice of *Acamapixtli*, the Grandson of the King of *Culucan*, under whose Administration they soon began

began to make a considerable Figure; which Mexico.
 drew upon them the Envy of the neighbouring
 Tribes; and the King of *Azcapuzalco*, tis said,
 did not only exact an Increase of Tribute, but
 required some Things of them that were look'd
 upon as Impracticable, with no other View
 than to fall out with the *Mexicans*, and expell
 them the Country: One of which Demands,
 the Story says, was, that they should supply
 him with a Quantity of Corn that should grow
 in the Water of the Lake; which they per-
 form'd by the Advice of their God, or his
 Priests, who directed them to make Floats of
 Canes and Rushes, and to lay Earth upon
 them, which, being sow'd with Grain, yielded
 considerable Crops, and enabled them to pay
 their Tribute: But, whatever Truth there may
 be in this Relation, certain it is, the *Mexicans*
 had Floating Islands, or Gardens, on the Wa-
 ter, with Fruits and Flowers upon them,
 which they row'd to what Part of the Lake
 they pleas'd: A Curiosity, that I don't re-
 member to have met with in any other Part of
 the World, and deserves as much to be ad-
 mired as the Hanging Gardens of *Babylon*.
 But to proceed: The King of *Azcapuzalco*
 continued to impose several other hard and
 whimsical kinds of Tribute on the *Mexicans*,
 who remained in a manner Vassals to that
 Prince fifty Years.

In the mean time, *Acamapixtli*, the first King
 of the *Mexicans*, died, having reigned forty
 Years, and very much improved the City, by
 Buildings, Canals, Aquaducts, and Bridges:
 He left several Children, but appointed none
 of them to succeed him, telling his Subjects,
 that as they had freely elected him their Sove-
 reign, so he now left them at Liberty to chuse
 whom

Mexico. whom they pleased to succeed him. And this generous Confidence in his Subjects had the Effect he probably foresaw it would; for they had no sooner perform'd the Funeral Obsequies of *Acamapixtli*, but they made Choice of one of his Sons for their King, whose Name was *Vitzilovitli*, or the *Rich Feather*; whom they crown'd and anointed with a divine Ointment, as they called it, being the same with which they used to anoint the Images of their Gods. This Prince, by the Advice of his Council, married the Daughter of *Azcapuzalco*, who thereupon remitted all their Tribute, but a Couple of Ducks and some Fish, which he took as a Testimony of their Subjection, and that their Country was a Province of his Kingdom.

Second
King *Vit-
zilovitli*.

Third
King, *Chimalpopoca*.

Fourth
King, *Izcoalt*.

He sub-
dues seve-
ral of the
Tribes.

Vitzilovitli and his Queen dying, the *Mexicans* chose his Son *Chimalpopoca* their King, out of regard to his Grandfather *Azcapuzalco*, tho' the young Prince was but ten Years of Age. But the Grandfather dying soon after, the *Tapenecans*, his Subjects, treacherously murder'd the minor King of *Mexico*, which occasion'd a War between the two Nations; for the Management whereof the *Mexicans* chose *Izcoalt* their fourth King, a Prince of great Courage and Experience, being the Son of *Acamapixtli*, their first Monarch, by his Concubine.

This Prince declared War against the King of *Azcapuzalco*, and, having made his Nephew *Tlacaeltlec* his General, perfectly subdued his Enemies, and divided their Country among his *Mexicans*: After which, he made a Conquest of *Tacuba*, *Cuyoacan*, the *Suchimilca's*, and all the Tribes that inhabited the Banks of the Lake; and became the most potent Monarch

narch that had been known in that Part of the ^{Mexico.} World; but died after a prosperous Reign of twelve Years.

Hitherto the *Mexicans* in general had all of them a Voice in the Election of their Kings; but *Tlacaellec* the General, who had now a great Influence in the *Mexican* State, shewing them the Inconvenience of these popular Elections, persuaded them to transfer their Right of electing a Sovereign to six Electors, viz. to the Kings of *Texcuco* and *Tacuba*, and four Princes of the Royal Blood; which the People consented to, and were never after suffer'd to intermeddle in Elections.

These Electors (probably) by the Direction of the General, chose his Nephew *Montezuma* ^{Fifth King.} their fifth Monarch, who first instituted the ^{Montezuma.} Custom of the elected King's sacrificing some of his Enemies taken in War by himself at his Coronation; and, to set his Successors an Example, he invaded the *Chalci*, made several Prisoners, and sacrificed them on the Day of his Inauguration. He also drew Blood from his Ears and Legs before the sacred Fire in the Temple; which was another Ceremony he required future Kings to imitate him in at their Coronations. The same Day, the several Provinces brought him their Tribute in kind, consisting of Gold, Silver, rich Feathers painted, Cotton, Cloaths, Cacao, and other Fruits; Grain, Venison, and whatever the Kingdom afforded: Whereupon he made a grand Entertainment for those who came to attend the Solemnity.

He afterwards continued the War against the *Chalci*, who having taken the Brother of *Montezuma* Prisoner, would have made him their King; but he refused the Honour they intended him, and killed himself rather than engage

Mexico.

engage against his Brother. Whereupon *Montezuma* encreased his Forces, and made an entire Conquest of the Territories of the *Chalci*; and his General *Tlacaellec* soon after subdued all the Nations bordering on the *North* and *South* Seas, except the *Tlascalans*, which Tribe, says *Acosta*, they suffer'd to retain their Independency, that they might have an Enemy to exercise their Youth in the Discipline of War, and to furnish them with Prisoners to sacrifice to their Gods. *Montezuma* also applied himself to regulate the Civil Government and the Officers of his Household, and built that celebrated Temple in *Mexico* that was dedicated to their God *Vitziliputzli*, and died after he had reigned twenty-eight Years.

Sixth
King, *Ticocic*.

Seventh
King,
Axayaca.

The Electors, assembling on this Demise, would have set the Crown upon the Head of their General *Tlacaellec*, who had contributed exceedingly to the Enlargement of their Territories, and settling the Civil Government; and, when he refused to accept it, they chose the Person he was pleased to recommend to them; namely, *Ticocic*, one of the Sons of the deceased King; but he, proving an unfortunate Prince, was poison'd by his Subjects, after he had reigned four Years: Whereupon the Electors, by the Advice of the same General, chose *Axayaca*, another of the Sons of *Montezuma*, for their Sovereign; and the General *Tlacaellec* dying soon after his Election, *Axayaca* gratefully constituted his eldest Son General of the *Mexican* Armies; and, having solemnized the Exequies of *Tlacaellec* with great Splendor, march'd with his Army, to the Southward of *Mexico*, two hundred Leagues, subduing the Provinces of *Tecoantipique* and *Guatulco*; from whence he brought several Captives,

Captives, whom he sacrificed at his Coronation, *Acosta* relates, that he afterwards invaded the Country of *Tlatelulco*; and that his Enemies, in order to surprize him, metamorphos'd themselves into Frogs, and other Animals; which *Acosta* seems to have been so weak as to believe: And, indeed, it must be admitted, that *Acosta* had a pretty deal of Credulity and Superstition in his Constitution; but, making an Allowance for these Foibles, he is esteem'd a good Author. To return to our History: *Axayaca* died after he had reigned eleven Years; and the Electors thought fit to chuse *Autzol*, one of their Number, his Successor; who added *Guatemala*, and several other large Provinces, to his Dominions: He also rebuilt and beautified the City of *Mexico*; but, endeavouring to bring a River of fresh Water into the Town, drowned great Part of it: However, he found means to draw off the Water again, and repair the Damage. And here *Acosta* entertains us with another whimsical Piece of *Mexican* Tradition. He says, when the King was about to turn the River into *Mexico*, being told by a certain Magician that he would drown the Country by it, he order'd the Man to be apprehended, designing to put him to Death; but that the Magician preserv'd himself some time, by turning himself into the Form of an Eagle, then into a Tyger, and afterwards into a Serpent: However, that he surrender'd himself to the King at length, and was executed, *Autzol*, having reigned eleven Years, died; and *Montezuma* the second was elected King, being the same Prince that sat upon the Throne when the Spaniards first invaded *Mexico*.

Eighth
King,
Autzol.

Ninth
King,
Montezuma the second.

Mexico

This Prince was elected by the unanimous Suffrages of the Electors, and the Approbation of all his Subjects; for he was, or appeared to be, the best qualified for that high Dignity, of any of the Royal Family; wise, valiant, generous, affable, and endow'd with every other Royal Virtue. He refused the Crown when it was offer'd him, and was in a manner forced to accept it: But he no sooner ascended the Throne, than he gave his Subjects good Reason to believe his Humility and Condescension were counterfeited, only to render himself popular; for he commanded, that no Commoner should be admitted into his Court, or hold any Place or Office under him: He would be served only by his vassal Princes and Nobility; and made it Death, 'tis said, for any Plebeian to look upon him. However, they admit, he caused Justice to be duly administer'd throughout his Empire, and severely punish'd his Officers and Magistrates that were guilty of Corruption or Oppression: That he was also a great General; ever returned victorious from the Wars, and added several Provinces to his Dominions.

The Spaniards arrive 1517.

It was in the fourteenth Year of his Reign, Anno 1517, when the *Spaniards* first appeared upon his Coasts. In the following Year, 1518, Cortez arrived, and so amazed the *Mexicans* with his Shipping, Artillery, and Horses, that, in the Opinion of *Acosta*, they would have submitted to any Terms the *Spaniards* would have imposed, without striking a Stroke, or offering at a Defence, if that would have satisfied the *Spanish* General. The *Mexicans*, at first, looked upon these Foreigners as Gods, or good Angels, sent for their Protection. *Acosta* observes the same. But they, by their Outrages

rages and Devastations, soon gave the *Indians* Mexico, occasion to alter their Opinion, and dread them as a kind of evil *Genii* sent to destroy them. But, having already given a full Account of the Negotiations and Transactions between *Montezuma* and the *Spaniards*, I shall not weary the Reader with a Repetition of them; only observe, that *Montezuma* the second is looked upon as the last of the *Mexican* Emperors; for tho' there were two elected afterwards, one was set up in the Life-time of *Montezuma*, which made his Election void; and the other was taken Prisoner by *Cortez*, before he was well settled on the Throne, and at length put to Death by that General, under pretence that he was engaged in a Conspiracy against the *Spaniards*: Nor do Authors agree in the Names of either.

I proceed, in the next place, to enquire into the Learning and Qualifications of the *Mexicans*, that we may be the better able to judge what Credit is to be given to this History: And, for ought appears to me, they had neither Letters or Characters, as the *Chinese* have, to express their Meaning by; Statuary and Painting were the only ways they had to record what was past: An Image or Picture, with a Crown on its Head, signified a King; and an Image, habited like a Priest, a Priest: But they had no Word or Character that would express either, as the *Chinese* have. There were some few Things indeed that represented others, and may be stiled Hieroglyphicks; as the painted Wheel, that distinguish'd their Age; and lesser Circles, their Years: And this brings me to speak of their Kalendar.

This they regulated and adjusted by the Their Motion of the Sun making his Altitude and Kalendar.

Mexico.

Declination the Measure of Times and Seasons. Their Year consisted of three hundred sixty-five Days, and was divided into eighteen Months, to each of which was assign'd twenty Days, which made three hundred and sixty; but then there were five more, a kind of intercalary Days, which they added at the End of every Year, to make it answer the Course of the Sun; during which five Days, 'tis said, they gave themselves up entirely to Pleasure, or at least a Relaxation from Business; Tradesmen shut up their Shops, no Causes were heard in their Courts of Justice, and even their Sacrifices and the Service of the Temple were disused at these Times. At the End of the five Days, the new Year began, which happen'd on the 26th of our Month of *February*. Their Weeks consisted of thirteen Days each, distinguish'd in their Kalendar by different Figures; and their Age consisted of two and fifty Years, or four Weeks of Years; for the describing whereof they made a large Circle, which they divided into two and fifty Degrees, allowing a Year for every Degree: In the Center of the Circle, the Sun was painted, from whose Rays proceeded four Lines of different Colours, which equally divided the Circumference, leaving thirteen Degrees to each Semidiameter; and these Divisions served as Signs of their Zodiack, upon which their Ages had their Revolutions, and the Sun his Aspects, prosperous or adverse, according to the Colour of the Line. In a larger Circle, inclosing the other, they mark'd, with the Figures of Animals, Plants, Weapons, or other Instruments, the most remarkable Occurrences that happen'd; which, however, they seem'd conscious, could not be perfectly understood by Posterity; and therefore

therefore Schools were instituted, wherein the Mexico.
 Youth were taught to celebrate the great Ac-
 tions of their ancient Heroes, and to repeat
 the most memorable Transactions of the pre-
 ceding Ages; on which they relied much more
 than on their Hieroglyphicks. So that their
 History, at last, must be resolved into Oral
 Tradition; and how much this may have been
 alter'd or corrupted, by Design or Negligence,
 we may guess, by what has happen'd in other
 Parts of the World. For my part, I never
 yet met with that Nation whose Traditions
 could be relied on; even the *Egyptians*, *Gre-*
cians and *Romans*, and of later Days the *Chi-*
nese and *East-Indians*, we find have mixed so
 many improbable Relations with their Story,
 that we know not what to make of their an-
 cient History; much less can we depend upon
 the *Mexican*, where they had neither the Use
 of Letters or Characters to transmit the Actions
 of their Ancestors to Posterity.

At the End of every Age, the *Mexicans* The End
of the
World
expected
at the
Conclu-
sion of
every Age.
 were taught to expect the End of the World,
 and prepared themselves to take Leave of it:
 On the last Night they extinguish'd their Fires,
 neglected their Food, and abandon'd them-
 selves to Sorrow; not daring to take their na-
 tural Rest, but remained with their Eyes fixed
 towards the East, till they saw the Dawn of the
 succeeding Day appear; and then prepared to
 welcome the Sun, and salute him, both with
 Vocal and Instrumental Musick, on his first
 Appearance: They also congratulated each
 other that a new Age was begun, and they
 should no more be in danger of the like Cala-
 mity for two and fifty Years; for which Bles-
 sing they crowded to their Temples, to give
 Thanks, and sacrifice to their Gods, and to
 receive

Mexico. receive from their Priests new Fires from the Altar; concluding the Day with Songs and Dances, and other Expressions of their Joy.

Government of the ancient Mexicans.

I proceed, in the next place, to enquire into the Government of the ancient *Mexicans*, which, it appears, was at first Popular or Republican; but falling frequently into Factions, which had near endanger'd the Ruin of their State, they elected *Acamapixtli* their first King, soon after their Arrival on the *Mexican Lake*; and all his Successors were elected afterwards, as has been related already; at first by the whole Community; but, on the Death of *Ixtcoaltl*, the Kings of *Tatuba* and *Tezcuco*, and four Princes of the Royal Blood, assumed the Privilege of electing their King or Emperor; and the rest of the Nobility, as well as the People, were ever after excluded from having any Share in the Election.

Ceremonies of the Coronation.

The King Elect, after the Reign of *Montezuma* the first, was obliged to invade some neighbouring Nation, if the *Mexicans* were not at that Time engaged in War, and to bring home a certain Number of Captives, to be sacrificed at his Coronation: And, on his Return in Triumph, was met by the Nobility, Ministers of State, and chief Priests, and conducted to the Temple of the God of War; where, after the Sacrifice was ended, he was clothed by the Electors in the Imperial Robes; a Golden Sword, edg'd with Flints, was put into his Right Hand, and into his Left a Bow and Arrows; by which he seems to have been invested both with the Civil and Military Powers: After which, the King of *Tezcuco* set the Crown upon his Head, as first Elector of the Empire: Then one of the Ministers made a Speech, in the Name of all the *Mexicans*,
congratula-

congratulating him upon his Accession, and Mexico. putting him in mind of the Duties incumbent on those who were raised to sovereign Power; and, above all, with what Attention and Diligence he ought to apply himself, to promote the Happiness of the People committed to his Care: Then the High Priest anointed him with a thick Balm or Oil, as black as Ink; blessed the King, and four times sprinkled him with a consecrated Water, putting a Mantle over his Shoulders, painted with Skulls and human Bones, to put him in mind, says my Author, that Princes were subject to Mortality. They also used some Drugs at the Coronation, to preserve him from Diseases and Enchantments. After which, he offered Incense to the God *Vitziliputzli*, and took an Oath to maintain the Religion and Customs of his Ancestors. He also took an Oath, 'tis said, that, during his Reign, the Sun should give his Light, and the Rains fall in their proper Seasons; and that there should be no Inundations, Famine, or pestilential Diseases: Not that the People of *Mexico* thought these Things in the Power of their Sovereign; but they put him in mind that his Conduct should be such as not to draw the Vengeance of Heaven upon them; being sensible, that the Publick sometimes suffer'd for the Faults of their Governors.

Having seen the Prince crown'd, it may be proper to say something of his Court, especially in the Time of *Montezuma* the second, who lived in the greatest Splendor of any of their Monarchs. He had, as *De Solis* relates, two sorts of Guards; one of Soldiers, with which the Courts of the Palace were in a manner crowded; and the other of Noblemen, introduced

The
Courts of
their an-
cient
Kings.

Mexico.

duced in this Prince's Time, consisting of two hundred, who daily attended in their Turns, not only as a Guard, but to add to the Splendor of the Court.

He had also no less than three thousand Women in his Palace, being the most beautiful young Ladies the Governors of the several Provinces could pick out, to adorn the Royal Palace: These were taken from their Relations either with or without their Consent, as a Tribute due to their Prince; and among them there were two, the Daughters of some of the vassal Kings, whom he treated with great Regard; and these the *Spanish* Historians call his Wives, and give them the Title of Queens, probably because there was some sort of Contract or Ceremony used before he took them to his Bed.

Their
Women.

There was a perpetual Succession of Women in the Palace; for the King frequently gave them to his Courtiers and Favourites in Marriage, and supplied their Places with others, which were daily sent up by his Officers: And, while they remained in the Palace, it seems, they were as strictly watch'd and guarded, as in a *Mahometan* Seraglio, by the good old Prudes and Gouvernantes, who had the Care of the Royal Concubines.

This Prince appeared but seldom in publick; and when he admitted any of his Vassals to petition him, they were not suffer'd to look him in the Face. He eat alone, but in great State, having above two hundred Dishes at his Table, which were distributed among the Nobility in waiting when he had done with them: Beside which, Tables were kept for all others who resided in the Palace, or whose Business or Employments brought them thither.

The

The King sat at Table on a little Stool, and the Room was divided in the middle to keep off the Crowd: Three or four of the eldest Courtiers waited within the Rail, and near it stood an Officer to receive the Dishes, which were brought in by young Ladies richly dress'd. The Dishes, which were of fine Earthen Ware, and the Table-Linen, were every Day distributed among the Servants, being never used twice. He drank out of Golden Cups frequently, a Privilege never allow'd to his Subjects; tho' he sometimes drank out of the Shell of a Coco-nut, or other natural Shells.

There were generally attending at his Table three or four Buffoons, who did not only divert him with their Impertinence, but frequently acquainted him with Things that others durst not name; which, 'tis said, was his principal Reason for entertaining them.

Having reposed himself a little after Dinner, he was entertain'd with such Vocal and Instrumental Musick as his Country afforded; their Instruments consisting chiefly of Horns, hollow Canes, or Sea-shells, and wooden Drums; and might entertain those that never heard better, but does not seem to be much admired by the *Spaniards*.

As to their Courts of Justice, there was one supreme Tribunal in *Mexico*, consisting of twelve Judges, who determined all Appeals from the respective Provinces; and both the Town and Country had their proper Judges and Officers, who heard the Parties, and determined Causes in a summary way. There could be no Bills and Answers, no written Declarations or Pleadings, where there was no such thing as writing: But the Judges were usually govern'd by the Decisions of their Pre-

Mexico. decessors and ancient Custom, unless the Royal Authority interposed.

The Crimes of Treason, Murder, Sodomy, and Adultery, were punish'd with Death; and some Authors add, that Robbery and Theft were punish'd in the like manner; but others relate, that the first Theft was only punish'd with Loss of Liberty: However, all agree, that Corruption in the Judges and Magistrates was punish'd capitally; and that Bribery in an Officer or Minister was never pardon'd; into which this Prince examined more narrowly than any other Offence whatever.

Military
Power.

There was also a Council of War establish'd at *Mexico*, which regulated all Things relating to the Militia; for the Soldiery were more favoured than any Set of Men in the Empire, and more raised their Fortunes, and acquired Posts and Titles of Honour in this Profession than any other. In every great Town the military Men were distinguish'd from the rest of the Inhabitants, by several Privileges and Immunities; and their Armies were easily raised, every Cacique and Governor of a Town or Province being obliged to bring a certain Number of Men into the Field upon a Summons. And it is said, by *De Solis*, and several other *Spanish* Historians, that *Montezuma* had thirty vassal Princes in his Dominions that could each of them bring an hundred thousand Men into the Field. These Princes commanded their respective Troops in Person, but received their Orders from the Generalissimo, which was usually the Emperor himself in any War of Consequence; these Princes esteeming it very impolitick to trust large Armies to the Conduct of any Subject.

There

There were several military Honours instituted, for distinguishing and rewarding those who had behaved well in the Army; some were created Knights of the *Eagle*, some of the *Tyger*, and others of the *Lion*, who bore the Device of their respective Orders on their Habits. There was still a superior Order of Knighthood, to which none but Princes, and those of the Blood-Royal, were admitted; which the Emperor himself was of: These had their Hair tied back with a red String, and a number of Tassels hung down their Shoulders, according to the Exploits they had perform'd, a new one being added every time they perform'd any signal Action.

There was still another Court, or Council, which had the Management of the Royal Revenues which arose from the Produce of the Gold and Silver Mines, and from the Tributes or Taxes paid in kind of the Fruits of the Earth and their Manufactures; which were said to be greatly encreased in the Reign of *Montezuma* the second, who compelled his Subjects, whether Tradersmen or Husbandmen, to yield him one third Part of their Profits; and the poorest People were obliged to work in the publick Buildings, without any other Wages than their Food, when required. As to the Nobility, indeed, they were not obliged to pay Taxes; but they were, by their Tenures, required to serve in the Army, with a certain Number of their Vassals, or give their Attendance at Court, upon every Summons.

The last Council I shall mention, is the Council of State, to which all others were subject. This was composed of the six Electors of the Empire, and usually held in the

Mexico.

Presence of the Emperor; four of the Members always residing in the Royal Palace, without consulting whom the Emperor scarce ever determined any thing of Consequence: They were the last Resort in all Cases, and without their Advice were no Laws made or alter'd,



CHAP.



C H A P. XIII.

*Of the modern Government of Mexico,
and of the Forces and Revenues of that
Viceroyalty.*



MEXICO, like the Spanish Pro-
vinces in the old World, is go-
vern'd by a Viceroy, and each of
the larger Divisions of that Vice-
royalty has its Court of Audience,
to which all the lesser Provinces

Mexico.

Government of
modern
Mexico.

and Districts are subject. The Viceroy, or Governor, is President of each Court of Audience; and the Alcaid-Majors, Fiscals, and Counsellors of State, are Members of it. These take Cognizance of all Causes, Criminal or Civil, within a certain Circuit round the City where the respective Courts are held, in the first Instance; and, by way of Appeal, of all Causes which are removed from the Courts of inferior Judges within their several Jurisdictions, particularly from the Courts of the respective Alcalds, Rigidors and Corrigidors of the respective Towns and Districts. Those Cities which have not a Corrigidor for their chief Magistrate, have a Rigidor, or Aleaid-Major, who has a certain Number of Rigidors, or Aldermen, for his Assessors, who determine all Causes within their several Districts. Those Towns which are not Cities, have their Alcalds only, from whose Sentence the People may
appeal

Mexico. appeal to the Courts establish'd in the Cities, and from them to the Court of Audience.

In the Viceroy is vested the supreme military Power, and he has the Nomination to many Civil and Military Employments; but most of the principal Posts are filled up by the King, or the Council of the *Indies* in *Old Spain*; to whom also there lies an Appeal from the Courts of Audience in *Mexico*: And the *Spaniards* make it an inviolable Rule never to prefer any *Mexican*, tho' born of *Spanish* Parents, to any considerable Post in the *Indies*. These must be all Natives of *Old Spain*; and the Term of the Viceroy's Administration is usually limited to five Years; but sometimes he amasses Wealth enough in that Time to purchase a Continuance in his Office for another five Years. And the Misery of it is, that such Governors are sent over usually as are necessitous or covetous; and, having given great Sums to purchase their Places, are forced to oppress all under them, to make up what has been extorted from them by the Ministers in *Europe*: They therefore usually sell all the Posts they have to dispose of, without regard to the Qualification or Merit of the Person preferred; so that there is a Train of Bribery, Corruption, and Oppression, that runs through the whole Administration: And, as the *Spaniards* oppress each other, it is not to be supposed, that the poor *Indians*, that lie at their Mercy, escape better.

- In the Towns that are purely *Indian*, the *Spaniards* constitute the same sort of Magistrates, and the Government is administer'd in the same manner by *Indians*, as it is in the *Spanish* Towns by *Spanish* Magistrates: But there are some Tribes of *Indians* that are rather

ther in Alliance with the *Spaniards* than subject to them. However, most of the *Indians* acknowledge the King of *Spain* for their Sovereign; and their Chiefs accept a Staff with a Silver Head, which is in a manner a *Spanish* Commission to govern their own People. These the *Spaniards* are cautious of disobliging, and suffer them to live according to their own Laws and Customs; only sending Missionaries amongst them, to endeavour, by fair means, to make them conform to their Religion and Government: For, if the *Spaniards* attempt to compel or force them to submit, *Dampier* relates, whole Towns of them will fly to the Woods and Mountains; and, if they are accidentally discover'd, they will remove again, which is not very difficult for them to do, having scarce any Household-Stuff but their Hammocks and Calabashes; and they soon build them new Huts when they come into another Part of the Country, and raise a Plantation sufficient for their Subsistence. The *Indians* who have no Dependance on the *Spaniards*, have some Chief they obey as their Prince, who acts the Part of a General when they take the Field, and that of a Judge in Time of Peace; and, in his Determinations, is govern'd by ancient Custom; But, it seems, he enters upon no Business of Consequence, without consulting the Heads of their Tribes or Families.

The regular Forces the *Spaniards* have in the Viceroyalty of *Mexico* are very inconsiderable: In the Metropolis there are scarce five hundred Soldiers; and at *Vera Cruz*, the Port of the greatest Consequence on the *North* Sea, they have not half that Number; and their Fortifications are as contemptible as their Garrisons.

Mexico.

The Forces of Mexico.

Mexico. Garrisons. There is scarce a Town, of any Name, near the Coast of the *North Sea*, but has been taken and plunder'd by the *Buccaneers* more than once, tho' these Rovers seldom consist of more than a thousand or fifteen hundred Men: These small Bodies have in a manner defied all the Militia of the Country; tho' they have frequently remained long enough on the Coasts for the *Spaniards* to assemble their whole *Posse*, yet have they generally carried off their Booty in spite of them. The same *Buccaneers* have fought their Royal Fleets on the *South Sea*, taken some of their stoutest Ships, and seldom been unsuccessful in their Encounters with the *Spaniards*, by Sea or Land. And if the *Buccaneers* and *Privateers* have appeared so much superior to all the Forces the *Spaniards* have in that Part of the World, what might not an *English* or *French* Squadron of fifteen or twenty Men of War, and five or six thousand Land-Forces, effect in the *Spanish West-Indies*? We see the *Scots* fix'd themselves at *Darien* with much less Force; and, had not the *English* themselves opposed and discouraged that Expedition, it would not have been in the Power of the *Spaniards* to have removed them. And, indeed, it is not the want of Power, but the want of Inclination, that has prevented the *English* fixing themselves in the richest Parts of the *Spanish West-Indies*. Our Governors seem to have been of Opinion, that we should lose more by dispossessing the *Spaniards* of their Acquisitions in the New World, than we should get by the Conquest, if we succeeded. And, I must confess, I am entirely of that mind; for tho' we might come in for a Share of their Gold and Silver, yet, if we lost our Traffick by it,

The Interest of
Britain
and Spain
to unite
against the
French in
America.

we should be no Gainers in the end. I look upon it to be the Interest both of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, to live in perpetual Amity and good Understanding, and to unite their whole Powers to oppose the encroaching *French*, particularly in *Florida*, to which *France* hath already given the Name of *Louisiana*; for if the *French* succeed there, as they will be very uneasy Neighbours to the *British* Plantations, they will be much more terrible to the *Spaniard* on the side of *Mexico*, which lies contiguous to it; since the Gold and Silver Mines in *Mexico* may be supposed to draw them sooner that way than to the *British* Plantations, where there is nothing that can come in Competition with those Treasures: Nay, the *Spaniards* can never secure their Mines in *Mexico* from the *French*, but by introducing the *English* into the Western Part of *Florida*, before the *French* are too well establish'd there. The *English* would be their best Barrier for their *Mexican* Dominions: They find the *French* have already driven them from their Forts at the Mouth of the River *Mississippi*, and some of their Settlements on the Frontiers of *New Mexico*; and they may assure themselves they will advance to the Mines, if they are not disappointed by the *English*. It is therefore undoubtedly the Interest of *Spain* to cultivate a good Understanding with *Great Britain*.

Nor is it less our Interest to have the *Spaniards* for our Friends: If we do not drive them into the Arms of *France*, we may have the cloathing of the greatest Part of the *Spanish West-Indies*; and we shall not only lose that most valuable Branch of our Trade by quarrelling with them, but, should the *Spaniard* be provoked to join with the *French* in *Florida*,

Mexico.

would greatly distress our Colonies that border on that Country, and put a Stop to our extending our Plantations to the Westward. And tho' this would be a great Step to their own Destruction, we can't be assured they will never take such Measures; for we find Pique and Resentment go a great way, and that Courts, as well as private Men, are sometimes govern'd more by Passion than Reason. And if both our Foreign Traffick and Plantations must evidently suffer by our quarrelling with *Spain*, it is not the Possession of a Mine or two that would be an Equivalent for them. Besides, if ever we should attempt to make ourselves Masters of any Part of the *Spanish West-Indies*, we shall infallibly be opposed by the *French*, and perhaps by the *Dutch*, and other *European Nations*. We have already suffer'd in our Trade by quarrelling with *Spain*: A great Part of the Woollen and other Manufactures and Merchandize, they formerly took from us, are now furnish'd them by the *French* and *Dutch*; and where Trade has found a new Channel, it is difficult to reduce it to the old one. I hope, therefore, both *Britain* and *Spain* will consider their mutual Interests better for the future. We are not possess'd of the Mines of *Mexico* indeed; but great Part of the Treasure the *Spaniards* dig there flows into this Kingdom, as has been observed by others, in return for our Manufactures: They have the Labour, but we already share the Profit with them. On the other hand, *Spain* will not fail to be protected by us against the Encroachments of the *French*, if they use us well; and I don't know any other Power that can protect their *American Dominions* against that potent and enterprizing People.

The

The Revenues the King of Spain receives from the Viceroyalty of *Mexico* are very considerable, and arise principally from three Branches, viz. 1. The King's Fifth or Tenth of the Treasure dug out of their Mines; 2. From the Duties of Excise and Custom; and, 3. From the Rents and Services by which they hold their Estates, and the Produce of their Husbandry and Manufactures.

Mexico
The Revenues of *Mexico*.

Gemelli Careri informs us, that the King has but a Tenth of the Silver in *Mexico*, tho' he has a Fifth of the Silver of *Peru*, because the *Mexicans* are at a very great Charge in purchasing Quicksilver to refine their Silver; whereas the *Peruvians* have Mines of Quicksilver in their Country. Gold, however, pays a Fifth to the King, both in *Mexico* and *Peru*. The same Gentleman relates, that when he was at *Mexico*, in the Year 1698, the King's Part for that Year came to six hundred thousand Marks, every Mark eight Ounces of Silver (which must make twelve hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling* of our Money;) and that the Assayer assured him, the King's Share came to eight hundred thousand Marks, or sixteen hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling*, in the Year 1691: And the King's Part of the Plate of *Peru* comes to four times as much at least.

Arising from the Mines.

The Customs and Excise also must raise a great deal of Money; for the same *Gemelli* informs us, that the King's Duties paid by the *Manila* Ship, in which he came from the *East-Indies*, amounted to fourscore thousand Pieces of Eight; and those Ships which arrive from *Peru* and *Europe* annually, also are vastly rich, and pay very high Duties to the Crown. The same Writer relates, that the Excise on a spirituous Liquor, drawn from the Plant *Magbey*

Excise and Customs.

Mexico. only, amounted to eleven hundred thousand Pieces of Eight *per annum* in the City of Mexico.

Rents and Services.

The third Branch of the Revenue, *viz.* the Rents and Services due to the Crown, must be equal, if not superior, to either of the former Branches; for *Gage* observes, that the poorest married *Indian* pays four, six, and, in some Places, eight Ryals (four Shillings) *per ann.* to the Crown; and others in proportion to their Estates. There are Lands also held immediately of the Crown, that pay very great Rents. Others are held of the *Encomendero's*, that resemble our Lords of Manors, or rather the ancient Barons; to whom their Tenants pay a large Portion of the Produce of their Grounds and Manufactures in kind: And these Lords hold of the Crown by certain Tenures or Rents; for all Lands there, as with us, hold mediately or immediately of the Crown, and the Owners of them contribute to the Support of the Government, either by their personal Service, or the Rents they pay in lieu of such Service.





CHAP. XIV.

Of the Religion of the Mexicans, Ancient and Modern.



THE People that inhabited this Mexico. Country immediately before the Religion of the *Mexicans*, according to Tradition, of the *Chichimeca's*, who are *Chichimeca's* represented by the *Mexicans*, that

dispossess'd them of their Country, as a very brutish Generation, without Religion; without Government, without Cloathing, ignorant of Husbandry, Building, and every other Art and Science.

But, notwithstanding they are said to be They without Religion, the *Spanish* Historians, most worship the Sun and Moon of them, agree, that this savage People worshipped the Sun and Moon, and sacrificed Fowls and other Animals to them. And *Gemelli Careri* relates, that when he was at *Mexico*, in the Year 1698, being carried to the Village of *Teotiguacan*, which signifies a Place of Gods, about a Day's Journey from that City, to see some *Indian* Antiquities; he found two Pyramids erected to them. Pyramids of Earth, with Steps from the Bottom to the Top, like those of *Egypt*; the one being the Pyramid of the Moon, and the other of the Sun: That two Sides of the Pyramid of the Moon were two hundred *Spanish* Yards in Length each, and the other two an hundred and fifty *Spanish* Yards in Length (a *Spanish* Yard

Mexico. Yard being near a Fourth less than an *English* Yard.) He had no Instrument to take the Height, but he guess'd it to be fifty *English* Yards: That there once stood on the Top of this Pyramid a vast Idol of the Moon (of human Form, as I understand him) made of a hard coarse Stone, which the first Bishop of *Mexico*, out of a Religious Zeal, caused to be broke in pieces: However, there lay then three great Pieces of it at the Foot of the Pyramid: That within the Pyramid were several Vaults, where Kings had been buried; for which reason the Road to it was called *Micaotli*, or the *Highway of the Dead*; and about it were several little Mounts, or *Tumuli*, supposed to be the Burying-places of their great Men.

Image of
the Moon.

Kings bu-
ried here.

Image of
the Sun.

A Tradi-
tion they
were cre-
ted by an
Eastern
People.

Our Author afterwards view'd the Pyramid of the Sun, call'd *Tonagli*, which stood two hundred Paces South of the former; and he found two Sides of it three hundred *Spanish* Yards in Length; and the other two about two hundred; and it was a Fourth Part higher than that of the Moon: The Statue on the Top of it was broken; but, however, the best part of it then remained there, being too large to be easily removed. This Image had a great hollow Place in the Breast, where the Figure of the Sun was placed; and all the rest of it had been cover'd with Gold, as was the Image of the Moon; and he found some great Stones at the Foot of the Pyramid, that were part of the Arms and Legs of the Idol.

According to their Traditions, these Pyramids were built by the *Ulmeco's*, a People which came by Sea from the East; which gave some *Europeans* reason to conjecture, they were Colonies of the *Egyptians* and *Carthaginians*, who sometimes joined in their Na-
val

val Expeditions to the Western Coasts of *Africa* *Mexico.*
and the Islands in the *Atlantic Ocean*.

Gemelli adds, that the *Mexicans* do not pretend to know when these Pyramids were erected; and *Dr. Siguenza*, a learned *Spaniard*, looks upon them to be almost as ancient as the Flood. Certain it is, says my Author, there was formerly a great City where they stand, as appears by the vast Ruins about them: They must have been built by a People who inhabited the Country before the *Mexicans* the *Spaniards* found there; for it appears, the *Mexicans* came from the North but four or five hundred Years before the *Spanish* Conquest; and, consequently, they could not be the Founders of these Pyramids, the Structure whereof they don't pretend to have any Traditions or Memoirs.

I proceed, in the next place, to enquire into the Religion of the *Mexican Tribes*, who succeeded the *Chichimeca's*; and these, according to *Acosta*, *De Solis*, and other *Spanish Writers* of Figure, acknowledg'd one supreme God as well as the *Peruvians*, and worshipped the Idol *Vitziliputzli* as the Image of this great God: But they contradict themselves in other Parts of their Histories; telling us, that *Vitziliputzli* was their *Mars*, or *God of War*; and that he had a Brother, named *Tlalock*, of equal Power; and that the like Prayers and Sacrifices were made before each of them. How then could the Idol *Vitziliputzli* be adored as the One supreme God? Besides, the same Writers acknowledge, that there was not one *Indian Nation* that had a Word in their Language, or any Term, that signified God. Indeed *Acosta* says, the *Peruvians* did worship a Being, to whom they gave the Names of
Pachamac,
Religion of the *Mexicans*.

Mexico. *Pachama*, or the *Creator of Heaven and Earth*; and of *Usapu*, the *most Admirable*; which I shall consider of when I treat of *Peru*. But neither he, nor any other Writer I have met with, will pretend to say, that the *Mexicans* gave any of their Gods such Titles or Appellations. Indeed, most of their Writers copy from *Acosta*, and give us nothing more, unless their own Conjectures; and *Acosta* tells us, that their Missionaries were forced to use the *Spanish Word Dios*, both in *Mexico* and *Peru*, when they spoke of God; the Natives having no Word of the like Import.

If the *Mexicans* had any God which they imagined presided over the rest, it was the Sun. It is evident, they had a great Veneration for this Planet, from the Speeches of *Montezuma*, and their ascribing whatever was great and wonderful to his Direction and Influence; but they had no Image of the Sun or Moon in the Temples of *Mexico*, as the former Inhabitants of the Country (the *Chichimeca's*) had: Either they imagined it unnecessary to make any Resemblance of those glorious Luminaries, which appeared to them every Day; or, rather, they imagined they govern'd the World by the Mediation of inferior Deities; and therefore built Temples, and paid their Devotions only to the latter, as Mediators for them to those mighty Beings they did not think themselves worthy to approach directly: For this seems to have been the Opinion of other Idolaters, both Pagan and Christian. I proceed therefore, in the next place, to enumerate the principal Idols the *Spaniards* found in the Temples of *Mexico*.

Their
Idols *Vit-*
ziliputzli,
Tlalock.

The first Idol the *Spanish Writers* mention, was *Vitziliputzli*, and the second *Tlalock*; which

which the Reader will find already described, Mexico.
 p. 136. The third Idol was *Tescalipuca*, called Tescalipuca.
 the *God of Penance*; to whom they address'd themselves in their Distresses, and in their Fasts. It was an Image of human Form, carved out of a black shining Stone, and represented sitting on a Chair in the middle of the Altar: The Hair was tied up with a golden Fillet: He held four Darts in his Right Hand, and in his Left a golden Mirror; and in the same Hand a Fan, made of Feathers of all Colours.

The fourth Image was the *Mercury* of the Quitزالcoalt.
Mexicans, represented under a human Shape, and called *Quitزالcoalt*: He was more particularly address'd to by Merchants and Tradesmen.

They had also a Goddess called *Toxi*, or Toxi.
Our Great Grandmother; a Deity of their own framing; for, it is reported, their God *Vitzliputzli* directed them to demand of the King of *Culiacan* his Daughter, for their Queen; which being complied with, they put her to Death, flead off her Skin, and put it on a young Lad, and ever after adored her as their Goddess.

Another Idol was formed of a Paste composed of the Flour of several sorts of Grain, mixed with Honey; which they obliged their Prisoners to adore that were destined to be sacrificed: And this brings me to enquire into their human Sacrifices, with which the *Spaniards* charge them; making these a Colour for all the Outrages they committed in *America*. They insist, that a People, which made the sacrificing their own Species the chief part of their Religion, ought to have been extirpated. But the *Spanish* Bishop of *Cbiapa*, who resided in

An Idol made of Dough-Paste.

Mexico.
 Their hu-
 man Sa-
 crifices
 magnified
 to a great
 degree.

Mexico at the Time of the Conquest, and was sent over thither to enquire into these Matters, and to protect the *Indians* against the barbarous Usage they met with from *Cortez* and his Fellow-Adventurers; assures us, that most part of the Charge was false: That instead of the *Mexicans* sacrificing Thousands and twenty Thousands annually, as those Adventurers reported, they never sacrificed fifty in any one Year. And, for ought I can learn, they neither sacrificed Beasts or Men constantly; but only on some grand Festivals, or in the Time of some general Calamity, such as Famine, or ill Success in War, to appease their angry Gods, as the *Phenicians* and *Cartbaginians* did, from whom it is highly probable they were descended. *These Adventurers*, says the good Bishop, *invented such Stories to justify their own Barbarity. It may truly be said, that the Spaniards, since their Arrival in the Indies, have annually sacrificed to their adored Goddess Avarice, more People than the Indians sacrificed in an hundred Years.* And, if their own Writers have reduced these Sacrifices from twenty thousand *per annum* to fifty, possibly there is very little Truth in the rest of those Relations we meet with, of their sacrificing Men, much less eating them. All Writers agree, that their Priests offer'd Incense four times a Day to their Gods; but those that speak of the sacrificing Men to their Idols, mention it as done upon extraordinary Occasions only, and no part of their constant Worship. If we might believe some Authors, indeed, they did not only sacrifice Men, but eat them; and had Shambles of human Flesh in their Markets. But, as I should with great difficulty believe this of any People, it being a thing so generally

rally abhorred by all Men I have ever seen Mexico.
 or known; I should believe it less of the *Indians* than any other People, since it is agreed, Their eat-
 that they lived for the most part on Fruits, ing hu-
 Roots and Herbs, and very little on Flesh of man Flesh
 any kind. The same Bishop of *Chiapa* in- not to be
 forms us, they were temperate and abstemious relied on.
 to a very great degree; and that one *Spaniard*
 would eat as much as four *Indians* usually did.
 And it is very strange, if such a People should
 feast on human Flesh, which, I am apt to
 think, is a stronger Food, and harder to digest
 than that of any other Animal; it must create
 a strange Disorder in Men that generally lived
 so abstemiously. And, as I am inclined to
 doubt of many of the Stories we meet with in
 the *Spanish* Historians, relating to human Sa-
 crifices; so I must absolutely reject those Re-
 lations that charge the *Indians*, or any other
 Nation, with devouring their own Species. It
 is strange, if there ever were such a People in
America, there should be none of them left at
 this Day. There are many Nations, yet un-
 conquer'd by the *Europeans*, who still retain
 their ancient Rites and Customs in other Par-
 ticulars; and yet I can't learn there is one
 Canibal amongst them.

I shall proceed, however, to give a fair and
 impartial Account of the Religion of the *Mexi-
 cans*, as we find it in Father *Acosta* the Jesuit,
 from whom most of the other *Spanish* Writers
 have transcribed their Relations; only premis-
 sing, that tho' this Father be an Author of
 very good Credit, where he relates what he
 saw himself; yet he seems to have had a great
 Share of Credulity and Superstition in his Con-
 stitution, as will appear from the pretended
 Miracles

Mexico Miracles he relates upon Trust, and the Credit he requires his Readers to give them.

A Re-
semblance
between
the Mexi-
can and
Christian
Rites.

And, in the first place, *Acosta* observes, that the Devil has taught the *Mexicans* to imitate both *Jews* and *Christians* in the Worship and Service of their Idols: That they had their Temples, Priests, Sacrifices, Sacraments, Prophets, and Ministers, as the People of God had: And then proceeds to describe the *Mexican* Temples; of which having treated already, I shall, in the next place, enquire into the Priest's Office.

Their
Pope.

Their Chief Priest, he informs us, was stiled their *Papas*, or *Pope*, vested with sovereign Authority, and held his Office by Inheritance, as the rest of the Priests of *Vitziliputzli* did: But that the other Priests were elected or dedicated to that Office in their Infancy.

Other
Priests.

Incense
offer'd to
their Idols.

That the daily Employment of their Priests was to offer Incense to their Idols: This they did four times within the Space of twenty-four Hours, viz. at Break of Day, at Noon, at Sun-set, and at Midnight; when they sounded their Drums and Trumpets: The Chief Priest in waiting, being cloathed in a kind of Surplice, took Fire from the Altar at Midnight; and, having incensed the Idol, was followed into a Chappel by the rest of the Priests and Officers of the Temple; where they perform'd

Penances.

a very rigorous Penance, lashing and cutting themselves till the Blood follow'd, and then besmear'd their Faces with their own Blood.

The Priests and Religious also fasted five or ten Days before their grand Festivals; and some of them cut and disabled themselves in such a manner, as to render them incapable of enjoying Women: Neither did they drink strong Liquor, or indulge themselves in Sleep,
most

most of their Penances being perform'd in the Mexico. Night-time.

Their Sacrifices come next to be consider'd. The manner of sacrificing Men. *Acosta* relates, that the Captives design'd to be offer'd, being brought to the Foot of the Temple-Stairs, were met by one of the Chief Priests, who, presenting them the Image made of the Flour of Wheat, Maize and Honey, declared, that *This was their God*; and, after some other Ceremonies, one of these unhappy Men was led up to the Platform on the Top of the Steps, where he found six Priests ready for the Execution; two seiz'd upon his Arms, two on his Legs, a fifth put a wooden Collar about his Neck; and, having thrown him on his Back on a pointed Stone about four Foot high, the sixth, being the Chief Priest, ripped open his Breast with a Knife edg'd with Flint; and, tearing out the Heart first, presented it to the Sun, and then threw it in the Face of the Image of *Vitziliputzli* (or some other Image) which stood on an Altar in the Chappel just before the Place of Execution: Then the Body was thrown down the Steps, and, being taken up by those that took him Prisoner, was carried away, boil'd, broil'd, or otherwise cook'd, and serv'd up for the Entertainment of their Friends, who feasted on the Flesh of the Sacrifice. And thus, according to this Writer, were fifty and more sacrificed in a Day sometimes. The Hands and Faces of all the sacrificing Priests were painted black when they officiated; and the Chief Priest had on a red Robe or Mantle, with a Crown of Feathers of various Colours on his Head, Pendants at his Ears, and Jewels hung on his Lips. The rest of the Priests had painted Coronets on their Heads, and were cloathed in white Robes.

At

Mexico.

At some of their Festivals, they lead a Captive, and cloathed another Man in his Skin, who went through the Streets begging the Charity of the People, who gave liberally on these Occasions, the Money being applied to the Service of the Temple.

Sometimes they would stake a Prisoner down, and, giving him Weapons, suffer him to defend himself against the sacrificing Priest; and, if he were too hard for the Priest that attack'd him, they gave him his Liberty, otherwise he underwent the same Fate as the rest.

Their Festivals, 'tis said, were usually celebrated with human Sacrifices. The last Day of every Month, which consisted of twenty Days, they sacrificed some Captives, and ran about the Streets, cloathed in their Skins, to beg Money, in the manner above related.

A Captive also was annually given to the Priests, to be the Representative of their God. This Man they cloathed with all the Robes and Ornaments of the Idol he was to personate, and gave him the same Name; and he was honoured and adored all that Year as the Idol was, lodged in the best Apartment in the Temple, feasted and entertained by those of the first Rank, and, when he went through the Streets, he was attended by their Princes and Nobility; he play'd upon a Pipe, or Flute, and the People adored him as he pass'd: But at the End of the Year he was sacrificed, and sent to increase the Number of their Gods.

The Priests put both the King and People upon these barbarous Sacrifices, according to *Acosta*, who says, they were weary of them when the Spaniards arrived amongst them, and were determined to have left them off themselves.

In

In their great Feast of *Vitziliputzli*, which was held the beginning of *May*, their Nuns (for they had Cloisters of Nuns and Friars belonging to every Temple) made an Image of their God in PASTE, of the Flour of Maize and Honey; which having dress'd up, and seated on an Azure Throne, the Nuns, who at that Feast call'd themselves *the Sisters of Vitziliputzli*, carried it in Procession on their Shoulders to the Area before the Temple, where a Set of young Friars received it, and carried it on their Shoulders to the Steps of the Altar, where the People came and worshipped it, throwing Dust on their Heads.

Mexico.
Festival
of *Vitzi-
liputzli*.

They afterwards went in Procession with the Image to a Mountain, a League distant from *Mexico*, taking a Tour through several of the neighbouring Villages: After which they returned to the Temple in a triumphant manner, sounding their Drums and Trumpets, covering the Idol with Roses, and strewing the Ground with all manner of Flowers.

Then the Nuns took PASTE, and made it into the Form of human Bones, which were laid at the Feet of the Idol, and, being consecrated by the Priests, were called, *The Flesh and Bones of Vitziliputzli*: About which they sung and danced, and paid the same divine Honours to them as to the Idol itself. After which, the Priests stripped the Idol of PASTE of its Ornaments, broke that and the Bones in pieces, which they distributed to the People, bidding them *eat the Flesh of their God*; the whole Ceremony concluding with a Sermon or Exhortation of the Priests.

Their
Communion.

On the 19th of the same Month of *May*, was annually celebrated the Feast of *Tescalipuca*, when the Priests absolved the People from

Feast of
Tescalipuca

Mexico. from their Sins. The Temple Gates being open'd, one of the Priests appeared, and blew a Horn, turning himself to the four Winds: After which, he took up Dust and put in his Mouth, pointing to the Heavens; in which he was imitated by the People, who sigh'd, wept and mourn'd for their Offences; and, prostrating themselves on the Ground, implored the Divine Mercy. The Horn was blown for ten Days successively, viz. from the 9th to the 19th of May; all which Time was spent in weeping and mourning; and, on the last Day, the Image of the God *Tescalipuca* was carried in Procession, two Priests walking before it with Censers in their Hands; and, every time they cens'd the People, they lifted up their Hands to Heaven, adoring the Sun and their Idol: And, during the Ceremony, the Penitents scourg'd themselves with Whips and knotted Cords.

After the Procession, the People made their Oblations, consisting of Gold, Silver, the Fruits of the Earth, or of their Labour. They also set all manner of delicious Meats before the Idol, which were afterwards carried by the Servants of the Temple to the Apartments of the Priests; the whole Ceremony concluding with the Sacrifice of the Person who had been the living Image of the God of Penance the preceding Year, and the usual Songs and Dances at such Solemnities.

Feast of
Quitزالcoalt.

The next Festival I shall mention, is that of *Quitزالcoalt*, the God of Trade. Forty Days before this Feast, the Merchants purchased a beautiful young Slave, without any manner of Defect, to be the living Representative of this God; and, having wash'd and purified him, they cloathed him with the same Robes and Ornaments

Ornaments with which the Idol was adorn'd Mexico.
 he was to represent: They danced, sung, and
 adored him; furnishing him with every thing
 that could render Life desirable: But, nine
 Days before the intended Execution, they put
 him in mind of his approaching Fate; and,
 if he appear'd to be dispirited and melancholy,
 they ply'd him with intoxicating Liquors till
 he returned to his usual Gaiety, and became
 insensible of his Sufferings: And, on the Night
 of the Feast-day, about Twelve o' Clock, they
 sacrificed the unhappy Wretch in the usual
 manner, ripping open his Breast, and taking
 out his Heart, which they first offer'd to the
 Moon, and then threw in the Face of the
 Idol, tumbling the Body down the Stairs of
 the Temple, which the Merchants took up,
 dress'd, and eat with their Friends.

It is not pretended, that the *Mexicans* had
 any constant *daily* Sacrifices, either of Men or
 other Animals: But our Author relates, that
 they adored the *God of Hunting*; and, at cer- Feast to
the God of
Hunting.
 tain Seasons of the Year, used to surround the
 Woods and Mountains, where they expected
 to meet with wild Beasts, or Game: And, ha-
 ving lighted Fires on all Sides, and driven the
 Beasts to the Centre, there they used to kill,
 and offer them to this God, who was placed
 on an Altar on the Top of the Mountain thus
 invaded.

The Inhabitants of *Honduras*, *Yucatan*, *Ni-
 caragua*, and the rest of the Provinces, had
 Idols of different Figures, that were worship'd
 with different Rites: But most of them, we
 are told, sacrificed Men on some Occasions,
 particularly those of the District of *Tlascala*;
 and the Island of *Cozumel*, on the Coast of
Yucatan, was famous for such Sacrifices, as

Mexico. well as for its Oracles. But we are inform'd, that the Priests here, as well as the Pagan Priests of old, used to abuse the People with pretended Answers from their Idols, which they themselves pronounced unseen from a hollow Place, where they stood concealed.

I shall take an Opportunity here to recite some of the Miracles related by Father *Acosta*, which have any Relation to these Sacrifices, or other Parts of their Religion.

Miracles
related by
Acosta.

He says, that some *Spaniards* standing at the Foot of the Temple-Stairs, when a Body that had been sacrificed, and the Heart pulled out, was rolled down, the Body spoke to them, and cry'd, *Knights they have slain me*; adding, that it is no incredible thing for a Person to speak after his Heart is pulled out.

The second Miracle he relates, was done by a *Spanish* Soldier, who, having committed some Capital Crimes, fled to the *Indians* in the Mountains to conceal himself; and observing the *Indians* in great Distress for Water, and that they in vain called on their Gods for Rain, advised them to erect a Cross, and direct up their Prayers to it for Relief; which they did, and there immediately fell abundance of Rain, which so convinced the *Indians* of the Virtue and Holiness of the Cross, that they applied to it in all their Distresses, obtaining whatever they demanded; which induced them to break their Idols in pieces, and apply themselves to the *Christian* Priests to be baptized; and that the Province was ever after called *The Holy Cross of the Mountain*. However, *Acosta* is so good to tell us, that this Miracle-working Soldier was afterwards taken by the *Spaniards*, and hang'd for new Offences, not being able to leave his wicked Courses.

The

The same Writer proceeds to inform us, that some *Spanish* Soldiers, who wander'd about in *Florida* several Years, cured whole Towns and Provinces of their Diseases, by saying over some Prayers of the Church, and signing their Patients with the Sign of the Cross, without administring any Medicine to them.

He observes also, that in several Battles a Horseman was seen in the Air, mounted upon a white Horse, with a Sword in his Hand, fighting for the *Spaniards*; and at other times the Image of the blessed Virgin appeared fighting for them.

So very credulous and superstitious are the best *Spanish* Authors, that treat of the Conquest of *Mexico*: From whence it is natural to infer, how little their Accounts are to be depended on, where it is their Interest to traduce the *Indians* to advance the Glory of their Church, or magnify the Actions of those pretended Conquerors that destroy'd the Inhabitants of that new World.

Notwithstanding 'tis pretended, that the *Mexicans* sacrificed twenty and fifty thousand Men in one Year, we find, when the same Authors come to give a particular Account of their Religion, they confess, that on some of their greatest Festivals they were contented with the Life of one single Victim; which it is not probable they would, if they had sacrificed such Numbers at other Times.

It is observable also, that, in some Parts of their History, they represent them rejoicing at these Sacrifices, cooking, dressing and eating the Victims with an uncommon Gust; and yet, in other Passages, we are required to believe, that they detested human Sacrifices, were put upon them only by their Priests, and

Mexico. were determined to have left them off before the *Spaniards* came: So inconsistent are these Writers with themselves. And we find the Bishop of *Chiapa*, who was upon the Spot at the Time of the Conquest, absolutely denies the *Indians* sacrificed such Numbers as was pretended, or any thing near so many.

I can't help taking notice also, that their Historians relate, that the Legs and Arms only of the Sacrifice were chosen to eat, the Body being neglected and thrown away; whereas, in other Animals, the Loin, the Breast and Rump are looked upon as the choicest Pieces, and the Legs the most indifferent Food. They also give us Pictures and Cuts of the *Indians* roasting human Flesh on *Spits*; whereas, every one knows, they *roast* no kind of Flesh, but stew or broil (which they call *barbacuing*) their Meat. From whence I am confirm'd in my former Opinion, that the *Indians* never eat any human Flesh; and if ever they sacrificed Men, it was but very seldom, and upon extraordinary Occasions. But to proceed in the Description of their Religious Rites.

Convents
and Nun-
neries.

Within the Bounds of every Temple there were two Convents, the one of Nuns, and the other of Friars: The Nuns were cloathed in white, and called the *Daughters of Penance*, being admitted into the Cloister at twelve or thirteen Years of Age, when their Heads were shaved: Their Business was to keep the Temple clean, and dress the sacred Meats presented to the Idols, and afterwards eaten by the Priests; and they made the Furniture and Ornaments for the Temple, and the Idols it contain'd: They rose at Midnight to attend the Service of the Temple, and perform the Penances imposed on them; and it was Death to suffer their

their Chastity to be violated while they remained in the Cloister; but then they were to continue here but a few Years; after which, they were allowed to leave their Cells, and marry. Mexico.

The young Friars were admitted at eight or nine Years of Age, had their Crowns shaved, and attended the Service of the Temple also: They were obliged to live abstemiously, and practise great Austerities; but were, however, at twenty Years of Age, allowed to go into the World, and marry. There were no such Things among the *Mexicans* as Vows of perpetual Virginity and Chastity; but, at proper Ages, both Nuns and Monks enter'd into the married State, which render'd their Condition preferable to that of cloister'd Catholics.

The *Spanish* Writers also relate, that the *Mexicans* had the Rites of Baptism and Circumcision amongst them; by which they initiated young Children, especially those of noble Extraction, into their Religion. Circumcision and Baptism.

Their Priests also obliged their People to come to Confession, and enjoin'd them Penance, after the manner of the *Roman* Catholics. Thus the Rites of the *Mexicans* and *Spaniards* being pretty much the same, the latter had little more to do than to give them one Set of Images for another, and require them to direct their Devotion to different Objects represented by Images, consisting of the same Materials their former Idols were made. Confession

Another Part of the *Mexican* Religion, or Oracles. Superstition, consisted in consulting their Idols as to future Events: But I find the Priests, for the most part, delivered their Oracles; or, if the Idol itself was apply'd to, there were some pious Frauds used to impose on the bigotted Enquirer.

Mexico.

Enquirer. The Voice, indeed, proceeded from the Place where the Image stood; but it was the Voice of a Man, artfully placed in or behind the Image, and not the Voice of a Dæmon (as some have supposed) that resolved their Doubts. And, to me, the Idol-Priest, the Conjuror, and the Physician, seem to have been the same Person, only acting different Parts: They all pretended to charm away Distempers, and do a multitude of other Feats, above the Power of Nature; which every one is at Liberty to believe or reject, as he is disposed, these being no Articles of Faith.

The Christian Religion introduced.

The manner of converting the Indians.

As to the Christian Religion, which the *Spaniards* boast they introduced into this New World, it appears, that the first Adventurers, *Cortez* and his Companions, studied nothing less than the Conversion of the *Indians*, whatever they pretended: They only summoned the *Indians* to submit to the Pope and the Emperor *Charles* the fifth; and, on their Refusal, to become Christians (before they were at all instructed in the Christian Rites) they seiz'd their Country, murder'd many Millions of them, and enslaved the rest: And afterwards, when these Abuses were in some measure redress'd, and Missionaries sent over, they perfectly dragoon'd the *Indians* that were left alive into Christianity, driving them by Hundreds and Thousands into the Rivers to be baptized, on pain of having their Throats cut. One of these Missionaries boasted, to *Charles* the fifth, that he had baptized above thirty thousand *Indians* himself: And *Gage* relates, that it was frequent, in his Time, to baptize the *Mexican Indians* before they were at all instructed in the Doctrines of Christianity. See *Gage's Survey of the West-Indies*, p. 357, &c.

The

The same Writer relates, that there are Missionaries sent over from *Spain* to every Province in *Mexico*, from all the Religious Orders, annually; and that it is very seldom that any considerable Dignity in the Church of *Mexico* is conferred on a Native of that Country, tho' born of *Spanish* Ancestors; which has created an implacable Enmity between the Clergy that are Natives of *Mexico*, and called *Crioli*, and those that are Natives of *Old Spain*. The same Policy is used in relation to Posts in the Civil Government, as has been observed already: Most of the superior Governments and Officers are filled with the Natives of *Old Spain*, who treat the *Crioli*, or *Mexican Spaniards*, with great Contempt; from whence, some have been inclined to think, the latter would be ready to revolt, and join any Foreign Power that should appear in the *West-Indies*, to free themselves from the *Spanish* Yoke. But as that of *France* would be still more insupportable to the *Spanish* Indians, and they are too much bigotted to their Superstition to submit to Hereticks, it is highly probable, notwithstanding their Aversion to the *Spanish* Administration, they would all unite against a Foreign Invader; and whatever *European* shall attack them, ought to depend on his own Force, and not rely much on the Disaffection of the Natives.

Mexico.
Dignities
in the
Church
conferred
on native
Spaniards.

Differences
between the
old Spaniards
and the Mexican
Spaniards.

Gage's other Observation, however, in relation to the Missionaries sent from *Spain*, That they are frequently Monks of very little Merit, and of lewd Lives, may be true enough; for, so we find it in other Countries, Men of Worth and Character are seldom fond of travelling and undergoing such Hazards and Fatigues as are to be met with in passing the Seas,

 Mexico. Seas, and changing the Climate; and therefore leave these Missions to those whose Necessities or slender Reputation at home induces them to go abroad: Not but that there have been Men of very great Worth found sometimes among these Missionaries.

Gage insinuates, that the principal Motives that draw the *Spanish* Clergy over to *America*, are a View of gaining great Riches, to free themselves from the Confinement of their Cloisters, and enjoy an unrestrained Liberty; for it is frequent for a Priest to lay up ten or twelve thousand Crowns in ten Years time, who has but an ordinary Cure in *Mexico*, and to live plentifully and luxuriously all the Time, and be in a manner adored by the common People there.

The loose
Lives of
the Monks
and Mis-
sionaries.

He was amazed, he said, to find the Monks in the *Mexican* Cloisters and the Parochial Clergy rivalling the Quality in their Dress and luxurious way of Life: They drank, they gam'd, they swore, they wench'd, and made a Jest of their Vows of Poverty; getting Money enough, many of them, to return to *Old Spain*, and purchase Bishopricks.

The Laity
proportion-
ably leud

And as to the Laity, he says, there is not a more bigotted or a lewder People upon the Face of the Earth: A present to the Church wipes off the Odium of the greatest Crimes; and that the way the People are instructed in their Religion here, as in *Old Spain*, is by Plays and Theatrical Entertainments in their Churches. There is scarce any Part of the History of the Gospel but is the Subject of a Play, which the lowest of the People are taught to act; one personates our Saviour, another *Pilate*, a third *Herod*, and so on: And as their Churches are exquisitely fine, so is their Musick, both
Vocal

Pious
Plays.

Vocal and Instrumental. The Clergy collect the most harmonious Voices, and have them taught not only to sing Anthems, but merry Songs; and in their Cloisters they have Masks, Dances, and all manner of Entertainments the Laity in this Part of the World indulge themselves in: And yet have they their Seasons for Penance and Mortification, particularly in *Lent*, when the People do not only keep a strict Fast, but lash and cut themselves unmercifully in their Processions. This is the Exercise of the holy Week before *Easter*, and in case of an Earthquake, Famine, or other general Calamity, when they endeavour to appease the Wrath of Heaven by such Austerities.

Mexico.

Seasons of
Mortifi-
cation.

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C H A P. XV.

*Of the Marriages of the Mexicans; of the
Education of their Children, and of
their Funerals.*

Mexico.
Marriages



According to *Acosta*, the *Mexicans* were married by their Priests in the Temple: The Bride and Bridegroom standing before him, he took each of them by the Hand, and demanded, if they were agreed to marry; and, on their answering in the Affirmative, he tied a Corner of the Woman's Veil to a Corner of the Man's Mantle; and, leading them in this manner from the Temple to the Bridegroom's House, he made the Bride surround the Fire (that was kindled in the middle of the House for that purpose) seven times: After which, the Man and Woman sat down by the Fire; and thus the Marriage was concluded without farther Ceremony, and consummated the same Night. But if the Man did not find his Bride a Virgin, she was returned the next Day to her Friends, which was no small Reproach to the Family. On the contrary, if he had no Objections to her Virtue, the Bridegroom gave a handsome Entertainment to the Wife's Friends the next Day, made them considerable Presents, and Sacrifices were offered to the Gods on the joyful Occasion. A Schedule was afterwards made of all the Jewels, Cloaths and

and Goods the Wife brought with her, which her Father kept; and, in case of a Divorce, which happen'd frequently where they could not agree, all the Effects mention'd in the Schedule were return'd, with the Wife, to her Friends: And, it seems, People once divorced were prohibited coming together again, by the *Mexican* Laws, on pain of Death.

Acosta, in speaking of their Marriages, does not inform us, whether Polygamy was allowed amongst them; but, in other Parts of his History, he confirms the Relations of other Writers, who unanimously observe, that their Kings and great Men had a great Variety of Women, both Wives and Concubines. Adultery (that is, the enjoying another Man's Wife) was Capital; but neither Polygamy or Concubinage were deemed any Offence against their Law: Even the common People had probably more Wives than one, because they were so far from being a Charge to a Man, that they might well be reckon'd Part of his Stock, as well as his Slaves; for the Wives of the common People cultivated the Grounds, carry'd the Husband's Baggage and Provision in every Expedition, whether in War, in Hunting, or upon a Journey: They also spun and wove their Cloaths, and did all the Business of the House besides; consequently, the more Wives a Man had, the richer he must be: Whether they brought Fortunes with them or not, they improved and increased his Estate every Day.

Waser, who resided a great while among the *Indians* of *Darien*, adjoining to *Mexico*, relates, that the Fathers of the Bride and Bridegroom only were concerned in tying the Matrimonial Knot. He does not mention any Priests being concerned in it; adding, that, seven Days

Mexico. after the Contract was made, the Bride's Father deliver'd her to her Husband; when all the *Indians* for several Miles round were invited to an Entertainment, and every one of them brought the married Couple a Present, consisting of Provisions and Fruits. The Men also brought their Tools, to clear a Spot of Ground for a Plantation for the married Couple, and assist in building them a House; which being finish'd in seven or eight Days, the Men sat down to drinking, continuing at it Night and Day till all the Liquor was spent; the Women waiting upon them, and taking a great deal of Care of their drunken Husbands when they found them disorder'd. And, notwithstanding the Wives are put to all manner of Drudgery in their Plantations and Houses, and carry the Baggage on Journeys, *Waser* observes, they do all this readily and chearfully: That they have no Quarrels with their Husbands, or with one another, and are extremely good and courteous to Strangers: That their Husbands also are very kind to them: He never knew an *Indian* beat his Wife, or give her a hard Word, all the while he was amongst them; and, indeed, it would be very hard if they should abuse their Wives, when they are contented to be their Slaves.

Child bed
Women.

A Woman is no sooner deliver'd of a Child, but she and the Infant are immediately wash'd in some River: After which, the Child is swathed or tied to a Board, and the Mother suckles it with the Board at its Back: It also sleeps in a Hammock thus fasten'd to a Board.

Education

And, when they grow up, the Boys are bred to their Father's Exercises, namely, Shooting, Fishing, or Hunting; while the Girls are taught Husbandry as well as Housewifery, and

and to spin and weave. He adds, that the Prince of that Country (who was a Pagan, and not at all subject to the Spaniards) had seven Wives; and, whenever he went a long Journey, so contrived Matters, that he had always a Wife at the End of every Stage.

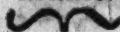
The *Musqueto Indians*, who inhabit the Province of *Honduras*, allow of Polygamy also, or a Plurality of Wives, as we are informed by one of our own Countrymen, who resided amongst them about the Year 1699: Nor do they marry till they have cohabited some time together, and try'd whether their Humours and every thing else are agreeable; and then the Man, to make sure of his Wife, gives her Father a Present, enters into a Contract with him for his Daughter, and the Bargain is ratified at a notable Drinking-bout, where the Friends on both Sides are made as merry as Heart can wish. And as these *Musqueto Men* frequently make long Journeys, or go abroad in the Service of the *English* and other Foreigners, they do not take it amiss if a Friend cohabits with their Wives in their Absence, provided they take Care of them and their Children.

Marriages
of the
Musqueto
Indians.

As to the *Indians* that are subject to the Spaniards, and obliged to profess themselves Christians, *Dampier* informs us, their Priests oblige them to marry when the Lads are fourteen, and the Girls twelve: And if they are not then provided with a Spouse, the Priests find one for them. And in this, it seems, the Civil Government concur, looking upon it that married People make the best Subjects: A Wife and Children are the surest Pledges of a Man's Fidelity. An *Indian* seldom leaves his Family, and retires to his untamed Countrymen

Of *Indians*
subject to
the *Spaniards*.

Mexico.



Impolitic
in us not
to marry
with the
Indians.

men in the Mountains, after he is married; but becomes an industrious and profitable Member of the Commonwealth, paying Duties both to the Church and his Civil Governors. The marrying them so young also renders the Country the more populous, which was impolitickly deprived of its Inhabitants by the first Adventurers. Nor do the *Spaniards* only take care to see the young *Indians* married to each other, but they encourage, or at least suffer, the native *Spaniards*, and the *Crioli* their Descendants, to marry with the *Indians*; whereby the *Americans* are so incorporated and allied to many *Spanish* Families, that they are in a manner become the same People in several Towns and Provinces. The like Policy the *French* observe in their *American* Plantations; while the *English* stupidly prohibit their People marrying with the *Indians*, and consequently lose many Advantages in planting and establishing themselves, which other *European* Nations have.

The *Spaniards*, *French* and *Portuguese* also endeavour to make the Natives Profelytes to their Religion, wherever they come; representing, at the same time, all Protestants as impious and barbarous, Monsters of Men, and so far from being Christians, that they are perfect Infidels, and Strangers to all Virtue and Morality: Which the poor *Indians*, who are incorporated with them by Marriage, and now bigotted to their Superstition, are too apt to believe. They entertain insuperable Prejudices therefore against our Nation, and have scarce any Opportunities of being undeceived. Thus the Nations above-mention'd daily securing their Interest in the Natives, by the two strongest Ties of Blood and Religion, our
Frontier

Frontier Settlements must ever remain exposed Mexico.
 to the Invasions of their *Indians*. It will be
 very difficult to defend and establish them
 where the *French* or *Spaniards* lie in our Neigh-
 bourhood, and continually incite the *Indians*
 in Alliance with them to fall upon our Colo-
 nies; especially as we use no Arts to counter-
 mine our Rivals, and ingratiate ourselves with
 the *Indians*, as other Nations do. This is the
 true Reason we have yet penetrated no farther
 into the Continent; nor shall we ever be able
 to bring over many *Indian* Nations to our In-
 terest, unless we employ more Missionaries to
 instruct them in our Faith, and encourage our
 People to intermarry with them. Our Colo-
 nies, indeed, are yet more powerful in *North*
America than either those of *France* or *Spain*,
 and we can supply the Natives with what they
 stand in need of on easier Terms than either
 of those Nations can; but still they are shy of
 us, and do not appear hearty Friends. The
French and *Spaniards* frequently distress our
 Settlements, only by stirring up the *Indians*
 against them, tho' they have scarce any Forces
 of their own to back them; but were our Peo-
 ple suffer'd to intermarry and incorporate with
 the *Indians*, and some Pains were taken to
 bring them over to our Religion, *Florida*, and
 most part of *North America*, would, in a few
 Years, become entirely *British*; and our Plan-
 tations might enjoy perfect Tranquillity, with-
 out a Rival in that Part of the World.

The ancient *Mexicans*, *Acosta* observes, were Mexican Education
 exceeding careful of the Education of their
 Children: They had almost publick Schools
 and Academies belonging to every great Tem-
 ple, where their Masters studied the Genius of
 the Children under their Care, and qualified
 them

Mexico.

them for the Church, the State, or the Army, according as they were inclined: They suffer'd them to take but little Sleep, oblig'd them to live abstemiously, to carry Burdens, and perform the roughest Exercises; and those design'd for the Army were oblig'd to attend the Camp, and give Proofs of their Courage, before they were admitted to be enroll'd among the Soldiery, which was esteem'd the most honourable Employment of all others.

The young Ladies also were educated in Convents, instructed in the Principles of Religion and Virtue, taught to paint and match beautiful Feathers, and such other Works as might render them useful and agreeable when they enter'd on the married State. Both Sexes were taught to sing and dance, and to repeat the heroick Actions of their Ancestors, and other remarkable Occurrences in their History; which, in some measure, suppli'd the want of Books and Records; for, tho' they had some Characters and Hieroglyphicks amongst them, these were far from enabling them to form a tolerable History: They could give but a very dark and confused Account of what had happen'd two or three hundred Years before the Arrival of the Spaniards, whatever some Writers may have suggest'd to the contrary.

Funerals.

The Author of the *Conquest of Mexico*, written about an hundred and forty Years since, as well as *Antonio de Herrera*, informs us, that the *Mexicans* sometimes burnt, and at others, buried their Dead: That their Princes and great Men were generally burnt, and their Ashes, being afterwards collected, and put into an Urn, were then buried: That the Funeral Solemnity was perform'd by their Priests, and the Places of Interment were usually their Gardens

Gardens or Court-yards, tho' some were buried within the Walls of their Temples, and others in the Fields or Woods; the *Mexican* Emperors had Burying-places appropriated to their Family some distance from *Mexico*.

Soon after the Party died, the Corpse was wash'd; and, being dress'd in the Mantles the Deceased usually wore in his Life time, and set upright, all his Friends and Relations came and took a solemn Leave of him. The Corpse was carried to the Place of Interment, attended by the Priests, who sung mournful Funeral Songs, and play'd upon their Wind-Musick. And where a Prince was to be inter'd, the Nobility and Officers of State attended the Proceffion: They were buried with their Arms, and in their Habits. In some Places, abundance of Treasure and precious Moveables were thrown into the Grave with them, and a great Number of Slaves and Officers killed to bear their great Men Company. But this seems to have been practised more in *Peru* than *Mexico*. I question whether any Slaves were put to Death at the Burial of a great Man in *Mexico*. But the *Spanish* Writers have very confusedly intermixed the Rites of several Countries, which makes it difficult to distinguish what were their respective Customs.

The same Writers assure us, that the *Mexicans* believed that the Soul was Immortal, and that there was another State, where every one was to be rewarded according to his Works; but they had no Notion of the Resurrection of the Body. They held also, that there were nine different Places to which departed Souls were sent, according to the Time of their respective Ages, and the different Lives they had led; but that the Place of the greatest

The State
of de-
parted
Souls.

Mexico. Happiness was near the Sun: This was to be the Portion of the Brave who died in Battle, and of such as had been sacrificed to their Gods. Some of the latter were canonized, and even deified; which might be some Excuse for their sacrificing Men: They imagin'd, they did them no Injury, when they deprived them of a Life of Care and Anxiety, and sent them to share the Joys of Paradise, or, rather, to be number'd with the Gods.





CHAP. XVI.

Of the Province of New Mexico.



EW MEXICO, or Granada, is Mexico.

bounded by unknown Lands on the North; by *Florida* on the East; by *Mexico*, or *New Spain*, on the South; and by the Bay of Gulph of *California*, which separates it from *California*, on the West; lying between the 28th and 45th Degrees of Northern Latitude, according to the *Spaniards*; and between 100 and 130 Degrees of Western Longitude, from the Meridian of *London*. But whether we should extend or contract these Limits on the North and East, I will not pretend to determine. We know no People North of *New Mexico*. The *Spaniards*, if they please, may call the Countries theirs as far as the Pole; but there is not a twentieth Part of the Country, within the Bounds already described, either peopled or cultivated: And how far we should extend the Limits of *New Mexico* to the Eastward on the Side of *Florida*, is equally uncertain; no one having attempted to fix the Bounds between these two Countries, unless the *French*, who have introduced that imaginary Country of *Louisiana* into their Maps in the room of *Florida*, bounding it with the *British* Plantations on the East, and *New Mexico* on the West. But if the *English* should (as I see nothing can prevent them, but their

New Mexico.
Situation
and Ex-
tent.

Mexico.

own Sloth and Negligence) extend their Settlements to the Westward, as far as the River *Mississippi*; and the *Spaniards* theirs to the Eastward, as far as the same River, which may easily be done, as their Settlements already come very near the Banks of that River; *Louisiana*, probably, will be no more heard of in a few Years.

All the Countries North of the Gulph of Mexico formerly called *Florida*.

Certain it is, that all those Countries which now go under the Name of the *British* Plantations on the Continent of *America* on the East, and those to which the *Spaniards* have given the Name of *New Mexico* on the West, with all those Countries that lie between them, and to which the *French* have given the Names of *Louisiana* and *New France*, on the first Discovery, went under the Name of *Florida*. As to the *English* and the *Spaniards*, they have been a considerable time possess'd of the East and West Parts of this Country, and have peopled and cultivated it in many Places; and the *English* traffick with the Natives as far Eastward as the River *Mississippi*: Whereas the *French* have only here and there an inconsiderable Fort, near the Mouth of the River *Mississippi*, or in *Canada*; by which they pretend to entitle themselves to the whole Country of *Florida*, and will never want a Pretence for excluding both the *English* and the *Spaniards* from the whole, if ever they are strong enough to do it. Tho' forty Years ago they had scarce any Footing in the Country they have denominated *Louisiana*, and are not at this Day possess'd of more of it than the County of *Middlesex* contains; tho' the Country they lay claim to is a fine Square of fifteen hundred Miles of a Side, the most temperate, fruitful and beautiful Spot of Earth upon the Face of the

the Globe; from whence it obtained its ancient Name of *Florida*. If we suffer the encroaching *French* to establish themselves there, and drive us from this terrestrial Paradise, when nothing is so easy as to prevent it, by uniting our Forces with the *Spaniards*, both Nations richly deserve to enjoy the Fruits of their supine Negligence. But to return to *New Mexico*: We know little more of it, than that it abounds in rich Silver Mines, and has some of Gold: That it is an exceeding fruitful Country, well water'd with Rivers, and abounding with the same Plants and Animals as our Plantations of *Virginia* and *Carolina* do; and, according to the *Spanish* Accounts, is very thinly inhabited by scatter'd Clans or Tribes of savage People, who live chiefly by what they take in Hunting, and on the Fruits of the Earth that grow spontaneously; neither building Towns, or cloathing themselves, or being acquainted with any Art or Science.

Gemelli Careri, who was at *New Mexico* in the Year 1698, gives us the following Account of that Country. He says, Part of it is newly conquer'd, and there remains still much more to conquer. As to the Natives, he was inform'd, they were such skilful Archers, that they would hit a Six-pence thrown up into the Air, and shake all the Grain out of an Ear of Corn without breaking it off: That they are great Lovers of Mule's Flesh; for which reason they often robbed Travellers, and carried away only the Beasts, leaving behind the Chests of Silver, which they do not value: That they paint their Bodies, and pricking the Skin render the Colours indelible. The King of *Spain* maintains six hundred Horse in *New Mexico*, with an Allowance of four hundred and

Mexico.

Gold and
Silver
Mines in
New
Mexico.The Na-
tives.Gemelli's
Account
of New
Mexico.

Mexico.

and fifty Pieces of Eight *per annum* to each Man; but the Soldiers have the least Part of it, the Governor putting most of it into his own Pocket; for he sells them all manner of Cloathing and Necessaries, and, setting his Price upon them, makes the Soldiers give twenty Pieces of Eight for that which is not worth two; and, by such means, makes his Post worth three hundred thousand Pieces of Eight *per annum*. The *Spanish* Soldiers in this Country are arm'd with a Shield, Musket, and Half-pike, or Spear; not to fight (says our Author) but to hunt them out like wild Beasts: They are order'd by the Government not to kill this savage People, but to bring them in, that they may be instructed in their Religion, and civilized. Thus an hundred and fifty Leagues have been conquer'd to the Westward, tho' the People endeavour'd to defend themselves with their Bows and Arrows. The worst is (says *Gemelli*) that, being five hundred Leagues from the City of *Mexico*, those Barbarians quickly revolt, knowing there cannot be Supplies of Soldiers sent against them suddenly. The Country is plain, and convenient for Carriages for some Months every Year; but the King's Forces are obliged to pass such wide Desarts, that they usually intrench every Night, and keep Guard, for fear of being surprized by the Savages. The *Franciscans* have the Charge of the Conversion of these wild People, called *Chichimeca's*, who are rather Atheists than Idolaters, and have brought a great Number of them to live like Men; but their wild Nature always inclines them to Solitude. The Country is so thinly peopled, that they travel several Days Journey without meeting with a Village; for which reason the Viceroy has sent several

Several Families thither of late Years to people it, the Soil plentifully producing all Things that are sowed or planted in it, even of the Fruits of *Europe*: And there are, besides, rich Mines of Gold and Silver. The Length of the Way not allowing Travellers to carry their Quilts to lie on, the Jesuits that go to their Missions in this Country have learnt of the *Indians* to carry before them, on their Saddles, Mattresses and Pillows made of Leather, which at Night they blow full of Wind, and they are as soft as a Feather-Bed.

The *Spaniards* formerly over-ran great part of *Eastern* as well as *Western Florida*, but made few Settlements in it. The Gold and Silver Mines of *Mexico* were so attractive, that they in a manner abandon'd this fruitful Country again, retaining only the Forts of *St. Augustine*, *St. Matthew*, and some other inconsiderable Places on the Confines of *Carolina*: None of which I should envy them, if they would unite with *Britain* against *France*. There is room enough in *Florida* for the *Spaniards*, the *English*, and the Natives; and, indeed, more than they can cultivate: But it is impossible they should enjoy any Part of it in quiet, if the *French* are suffer'd to establish themselves in what they call *Louisiana*. There is no Medium: The *French* must either be driven from *Florida*, or they will drive both the *English* and *Spaniards* out of it; and, indeed, out of all their *American* Plantations: Therefore, as the Earl of *Shaftsbury* said in relation to the *Dutch*, DELEND A EST CARTHAGO. The *French* are a much more formidable Enemy, both in the Old and New World, than any other Power; and, I hope, *Great Britain* and *Spain* will discover their mutual Interest

Mexico.

The Enterprizes of the *Spaniards* in *Florida*.

The *French* must be driven from *Florida*, or the *British* and *Spanish* Settlements will be ruin'd.

Mexico. Interest before it be too late. The *Spaniards* can never do *Britain* any Hurt, but by confederating with the *French*: Nor is it our Interest to fall out with, or encroach on the *Spaniards*; their Plantations take off our *English* Manufactures, and, while we maintain a good Understanding with them, are almost as advantageous to *Britain* as our own: Whereas, if the *French* are allowed to fix in *Florida*, we not only lose our Trade, but our very Plantations. To return to *New Mexico*.

Some Writers have subdivided it into twenty or five and twenty Provinces, and furnish'd us with the Names of as many Towns, the Capitals of the respective Provinces: But, as they have not given us the Situation, Boundaries, or Description of any of these Provinces, and most Authors agree, that not one twentieth Part of the Country is yet inhabited or cultivated; I shall content myself with observing, that *Santa Fé*, the Capital Town of *New Mexico*, is situated in 36 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, a little to the Westward of the *North River*; and that it is a Bishop's See, and the Residence of the Governor; and said to be regularly built of Stone.

California
described.

I shall conclude this Volume, and the Description of the *Spanish* Dominions in *North America*, with the best Account I could get of *California*, which may well be look'd upon as a Part of *New Mexico*, since it is joined to it by a narrow Isthmus, or only separated from it by the Bay or Gulph of *California*; and, if not under the same Governor, is subject in a great measure to *Spanish* Influence, as will appear hereafter.

Situation
and Extent

California, formerly deemed an Island, is laid down in our latest Charts and Maps as a Peninsula

Peninsula adjoining to the Continent of *New Mexico*. It is bounded by unknown Lands on the North; by the Bay or Gulph of *California* and a narrow Isthmus, which separate it from *Old* and *New Mexico*, towards the West; and by the *South Sea* on the South and West; stretching in Length from the Tropic of *Cancer* to the 45th Degree of North Latitude; and lies between the 115th and 136th Degrees of Western Longitude, reckoning from the Meridian of *London*. It is of an unequal Breadth, narrow in the South, and growing broader towards the North; indented by many considerable Bays and Gulphs of the Sea; said to be about fifteen hundred Miles in Length, and three hundred in Breadth in the broadest Part.

This Country was first discovered by *Cortez* (who had the Honour of subduing *Mexico*) in the Year 1535; but the *Spaniards* did not, till very lately, penetrate far into it, contenting themselves with the rich Pearl-Fishery on the Coast.

The celebrated Sir *Francis Drake* touched upon this Coast in the Year 1578, and took Possession of it in the Name of the then Queen of *England*, giving it the Name of *New Albion*; but the *British* Government has never thought fit to attempt any farther Discoveries in *California*; and it is at this Day, or will be in a very short time, in the Power of *Spain*, and annex'd to their *Mexican* Dominions, as we may conjecture from the following Description of that Country.

In the Letters of the Missionary Jesuits, we meet with one written by *Fr. Maria Picolo*, who relates, "That, in *October 1697* (being then in *New Mexico*) he embarked, with Father *Salvieterra* and a Guard of Soldiers,"

The Jesuits Description of *California*.

Vol. XXVIII. N n n " for

Mexico.

“ for *California*, in order to attempt the
 “ Conversion of the Natives of that Coun-
 “ try; and that having pass’d the Bay of
 “ *California*, and landed their People, the
 “ Natives, imagining they came to dispossess
 “ them of their Pearl-Fishery, as others had
 “ endeavour’d to do before, attack’d them
 “ with great Fury, throwing at the *Spaniards*
 “ abundance of Darts and Stones: But, being
 “ repulsed by their Guard, the People became
 “ more tractable, and enter’d into a Parley
 “ with them; and, when they understood the
 “ Missionaries came with no other Intention
 “ than to instruct them in the Christian Reli-
 “ gion, they express’d a great deal of Joy,
 “ and suffer’d them to settle four Missions in
 “ their Country, some of which extend to the
 “ Coasts of the *South Sea*. Here they spent
 “ five Years in learning the Languages of the
 “ several Tribes, and in preaching to the Peo-
 “ ple; and had an Opportunity of making
 “ the following Remarks on that Country.

“ *California*, this Father observes, is pretty
 “ well laid down in our common Maps:
 “ That the Heats in Summer are very
 “ great along the Sea-Coasts, and it seldom
 “ rains; but the Air of the Inland Country is
 “ more temperate, and the Heats not so ex-
 “ cessive: It is the same in Winter in pro-
 “ portion. In the rainy Season there are
 “ Floods; but, when that is over, instead of
 “ Rain, the Dews fall in such Plenty every
 “ Morning, that one would think it had
 “ rained; which renders the Earth very fruit-
 “ ful. In the Months of *April*, *May*, and
 “ *June*, there falls with the Dew a sort of
 “ Manna, which congeals and hardens upon
 “ the Leaves of Reeds, from whence they
 “ gather

“ gather it: It is as sweet as Sugar, but not altogether so white. Mexico

“ The Climate must needs be healthful, if we may judge of it by ourselves, and those that were with us; for, during the five Years we were in this Kingdom, we continued very well in Health, notwithstanding the great Fatigues we underwent; and of the other *Spaniards* there died but two, one of which was a Woman, who occasioned her own Death, by imprudently bathing herself when she was near Lying-in.

“ There are in *California* large Plains, pleasant Valleys, excellent Pastures at all Times for great and small Cattle, fine Springs of running Water, Brooks, and Rivers, with their Banks cover'd with Willows, Reeds and wild Vines. In their Rivers they have Plenty of Fish, especially Cray-fish, which they keep in Reservoirs till they have Occasion for them. There is also Plenty of *Xicames*, of a better Taste than those of *Mexico*. So that we may conclude *California* to be a very fruitful Country. On the Mountains there are, all the Year long, *Mescales*, a Fruit peculiar to this Country; and, in most Seasons, large *Pistachio's* of several sorts, and Figs of different Colours. The Trees are very beautiful; and, amongst others, that which the *Chinos* (who are Natives of the Country) call *Palo Santo*, bears a great deal of Fruit: From this they draw excellent Frankincense.

“ As this Country abounds in Fruits, it does no less in Grain, of which there are fourteen sorts, that the People feed on. They use the Fruits of Trees and Plants, and amongst others those of the *Yuca* (or *Cassavi*) to

Mexico.

“ make Bread of. There are excellent *Skir-*
 “ *rets*, a sort of red Strawberries of which they
 “ eat plentifully: *Citrons* and *Water-Melons*
 “ of an extraordinary Size. The Land is so
 “ good, that most Plants bear Fruit three
 “ times a Year; so that, with some Labour
 “ in cultivating it, and Skill in managing the
 “ Water, they render the Country extremely
 “ fertile. Nor is there any sort of Fruit or
 “ Grain, but what they gather in great abun-
 “ dance, which we experienced ourselves;
 “ for bringing with us from *New Spain*, *In-*
 “ *dian* Wheat, Peas, Lentils, &c. we sowed
 “ them, and had a very plentiful Increase,
 “ tho’ we had not any Cattle or proper In-
 “ struments to till the Ground.

“ Besides several sorts of Animals that we
 “ knew, which are here in Plenty, and are
 “ good to eat, as Deer, Hares, Rabets, we
 “ found two sorts of Deer that we knew no-
 “ thing of; we call them Sheep, because they
 “ somewhat resembled ours in Make. The
 “ first sort is as large as a Calf of one or two
 “ Years old: Its Head is much like that of a
 “ Stag, and its Horns, which are very large,
 “ like those of a Ram: Its Tail and Hair
 “ are speckled, and shorter than a Stag’s;
 “ but its Hoof is large, round, and cleft like
 “ that of an Ox. I have eaten of these Beasts;
 “ their Flesh is very tender and delicious.
 “ The other sort of Sheep, some of which are
 “ white, and others black, differ less from
 “ ours: They are larger, and have a great deal
 “ more Wool, which is very good, and easy
 “ to be spun and wrought. Beside these Ani-
 “ mals, that serve for Food, there are Lions,
 “ wild Cats, and many others, like those in
 “ *New Spain*. We brought to *California* some
 “ Cows,

“ Cows, and Store of small Cattle, as Sheep Mexico
 “ and Goats, which would have increased
 “ very much, had not the Necessity we were
 “ once in obliged us to kill the greatest part
 “ of them. We also brought with us Horses
 “ and Colts, to stock the Country, and be-
 “ gan to breed up Hogs; but, as these do a
 “ great deal of Damage to the Villages, and
 “ the Women are afraid of them, we have re-
 “ solved to extirpate them.

“ As for Fowls, there are in *California* all
 “ that are in *Mexico* and *New Spain*, as Pi-
 “ geons, Turtle-doves, Larks, Partridges, of an
 “ exquisite Taste, and in great Quantities;
 “ Geese, Ducks, and many other sorts, both
 “ of River and Sea Fowls.

“ The Sea affords Plenty of very good
 “ Fish: They take Pilchards, Anchovies, and
 “ Tunnies; which last they catch with their
 “ Hands on the Shore. We often see Whales,
 “ and all sorts of Turtles. The Shores are
 “ filled with Heaps of Shells, larger than
 “ those of Mother of Pearl. The Salt they
 “ have is not from the Sea, but out of Pits:
 “ It is as bright as Crystal, and so hard, that
 “ they are often forced to break it with Ham-
 “ mers: It is a very good Commodity in
 “ *New Spain*, where Salt is scarce.

“ *California* has been known near these two
 “ Centuries, and its Coasts are famous for the
 “ Pearl-Fishery, which has made the *Europe-
 “ ans* so desirous of establishing a Trade here.
 “ It is certain, if the King would erect a
 “ Fishery here, at his own Charge, he might
 “ draw great Advantage from it. Nor do
 “ I doubt, but that there are Mines to be
 “ found in several Places, if they were sought
 “ for; since the Country is under the same
 “ Degree

Mexico.

“ Degree as the Provinces of *Cinulao* and
 “ *Sonora* (in *Mexico*) where there are rich
 “ ones.

“ Tho’ Heaven as been so bountiful to the
 “ *Californians*, and the Earth brings forth of
 “ itself what it does not produce elsewhere
 “ without a great deal of Labour and Pains ;
 “ yet they make no Esteem of the Plenty and
 “ Riches of their Country, contenting them-
 “ selves with what is only necessary for Life ;
 “ they take little Care for the rest. The In-
 “ land Parts of the Country are very popu-
 “ lous, especially towards the North : And
 “ tho’ there is scarce a Town, but what has
 “ twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty Families in it ;
 “ yet they have no Houses, but defend them-
 “ selves from the Heat of the Sun in the Day-
 “ time under the Shade of the Trees ; and of
 “ their Leaves and Branches make a sort of
 “ Roof against the Inclemency of the Night.
 “ In the Winter they shut themselves up in
 “ Caves in the Earth, and live there together
 “ little better than so many Beasts.

“ The Men go naked, at least all were so
 “ that we saw : They wear about their Head
 “ a fine Linen Fillet, or sort of Net-work ;
 “ and about their Neck, and sometimes about
 “ their Arms, for Ornament, Mother of Pearl,
 “ in divers Figures, very finely wrought, and
 “ prettily intermix’d with little round Fruits,
 “ somewhat like the Beads of a Chaplet.
 “ They have no other Arms than Bows and
 “ Arrows, and a sort of Spear or Lance,
 “ which they always carry in their Hands,
 “ either to kill Game, or defend themselves ;
 “ for their Towns are frequently at War with
 “ each other.

“ The

“ The Women wear, from their Waist Mexico.
“ down to their Knees, a kind of Apron made
“ of Reeds, very neatly wrought, and platted
“ together: They cover their Shoulders with
“ the Skins of Beasts, and wear about their
“ Heads, like the Men, a very curious kind
“ of Net-work; which our Soldiers find so
“ convenient, that they make use of them to
“ tie up their Hair with. They, as well as
“ the Men, have Necklaces of Mother of
“ Pearl, mixed with the Stones of some sorts
“ of Fruit and Sea-shells, hanging down to
“ their Waist; and Bracelets of the same.

“ The common Employment both of Men
“ and Women is spinning: They make their
“ Thread of long Plants, which serve them
“ instead of Hemp and Flax, or else of a
“ Cotton-like Substance found in the Shell of
“ some sorts of Fruit. Of the finer Thread
“ they make the Ornaments above-mentioned,
“ and of the coarser Fishing-nets and Sacks,
“ or Bags for several Uses. The Men more-
“ over, of certain Plants, whose Fibres are
“ very close and thick set, and which they are
“ well skilled in working, employ themselves
“ in making Dishes and other Kitchen Neces-
“ saries, of all Fashions and Sizes. The
“ smaller Pieces serve for Drinking-cups;
“ those that are larger for Plates and Dishes,
“ and sometimes for Umbrells for the Wo-
“ men; and the largest sort for Baskets to ga-
“ ther Fruit in, and sometimes for Pans and
“ Basins to dress their Meat in: But they take
“ care to keep them perpetually moving while
“ they are over the Fire, for if the Flame
“ catch them they are soon burnt.

“ The *Californians* have a great deal of
“ Vivacity, and are naturally addicted to
“ Raillery,

Mexico.

26. Railery, as we found when we began first
 27. to instruct them; for if we committed any
 28. Error in their Language, they jested and
 29. made Sport with us: But after we were grown
 30. better acquainted with them, if we com-
 31. mitted any Faults, they civilly advised us
 32. of them. And if at any time we explained
 33. any Mystery or Point of Morality, not con-
 34. formable to their Prejudices and Errors,
 35. they waited for the Preacher after Sermon,
 36. and disputed against him with a great deal
 37. of Force and Wit. If we could give them
 38. good Reasons for it, they listen'd very at-
 39. tentively, and, when convinced, submitted,
 40. and did accordingly. We have not found
 41. amongst them any Form of Religion or
 42. regular Worship, only they adore the Moon,
 43. and cut their Hair (as I remember) in her
 44. Decrease, in Honour of their Deity, which
 45. they give to their Priests, who employ it to
 46. several superstitious Uses. Every Family is
 47. a distinct State, and hath different Laws
 48. and Customs, which is plainly the Reason
 49. that they are so often at War with one ano-
 50. ther.

Governor
 Rogers
 confirms
 this Ac-
 count.

Captain Rogers, our Countryman, late Go-
 vernor of the *Bahama* Islands, touch'd at *Califor-*
nia in the Year 1709, in his Voyage round
 the Globe, and confirms many of the Particu-
 lars mention'd by this Jesuit: Neither do I
 perceive he contradicts him in any material
 Circumstance, which inclines me to give the
 more Credit to that Father's Description of
California.

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End of the Twenty-eighth Volume.



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